

IN THESE TIMES

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The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents



Immigrants entering California from Mexico at the border. Many fewer will be allowed in under the new law. Page 6 & 7.

Photo by Image Arts-SD

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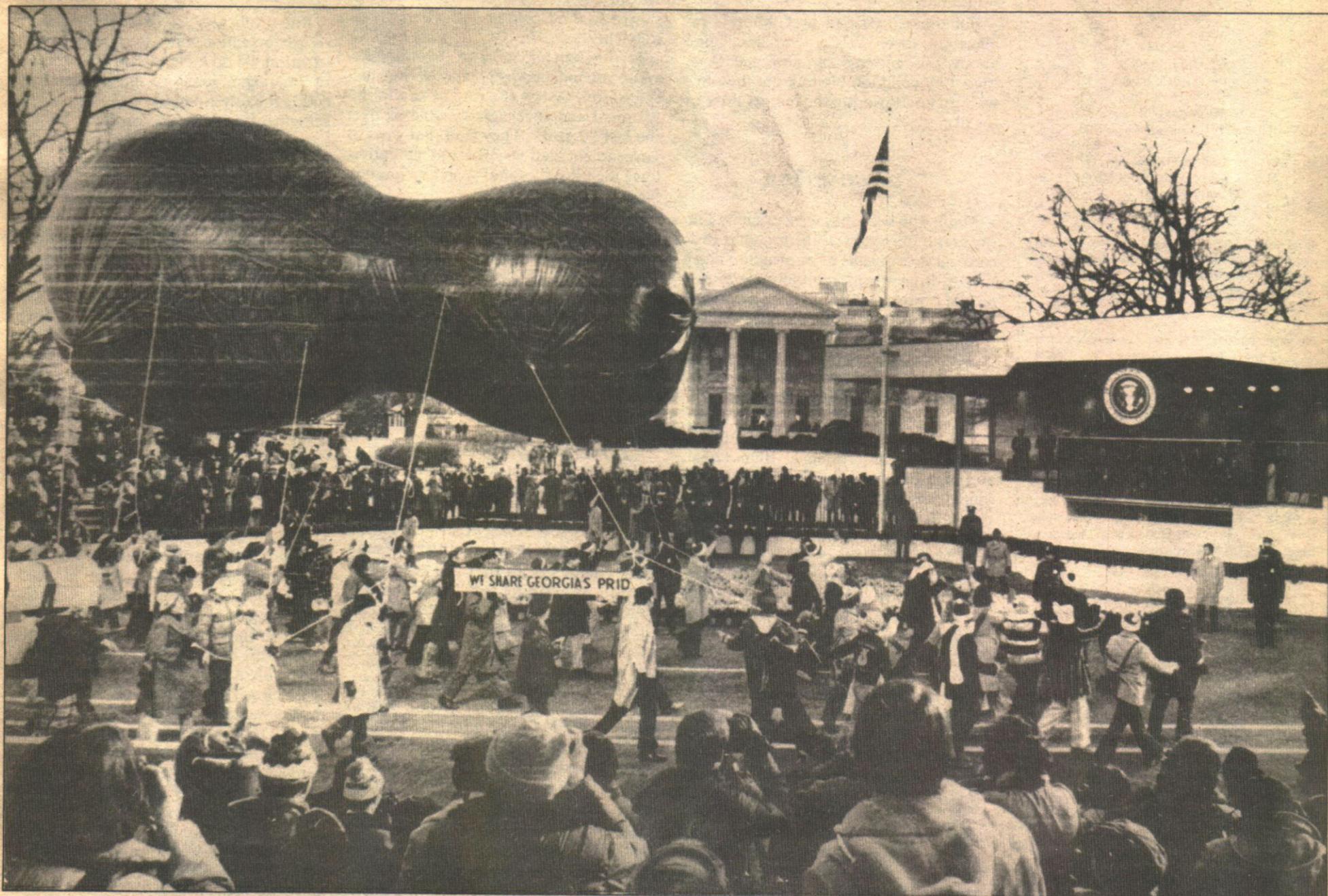
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In These Times Photo by Ken Firestone

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

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NEWSFRONT

Little mercy from that quarter

Out in the cold

"Today we are at the mercy of the weather, and we can expect little mercy from that quarter," John O'Leary, President Carter's nominee for Federal Energy Administrator, told the Senate Interior Committee.

By this week, record cold east of the Rockies had thrown 250,000 workers out of their jobs in Ohio as factories had to close down because of fuel shortages; it had closed down schools in New York and Pennsylvania; and it had destroyed up to 50 percent of Florida's citrus and vegetable crops.

The Carter administration has responded by seeking emergency powers that would allow state gas companies to sell their gas to interstate agencies at prices higher than the Federal Trade Commission now allows for interstate transactions. While this measure may increase energy supplies in hard-hit states, it will also increase consumers' already skyrocketing fuel bills.

Last year, the FTC had allowed prices of natural gas to triple. With gas usage up from 50 to 100 percent in the cold weather, many peoples' heating bills had already begun to equal or exceed their rents.

A new Ice Age

Weather experts do not expect the unusually cold weather to abate before mid-February. Dr. Donald Gilmore, chief of the National Weather Service, explained in the *New York Times* that the cold spell had resulted from a low temperature node that had remained stationary for over four months.

For those mystified by Gilmore's explanation, there is also recent speculation about the coming of new Ice Age, caused by pollution blotting out the sun's warmth and lowering the temperature of the planet.

Too much sun

Those who wish they were in sunny California, think again. California has meteorological problems of its own: too much sun. A drought with rainfall only 20 percent of normal, threatens crops and water supplies. In Marin county and Oakland, water is being rationed.

More business breaks

Last week, Carter economic advisers Chalmers Schultze, Michael Blumenthal, and Bert Lance outlined the administration's economic program before the House Budget Committee. Among the surprises were an option for a business to take 12 percent tax credits on their investments or a four percent write off on their employee social security payments, and an increase to \$11 billion of the total estimated tax benefits to workers and business.

Both additions to the previously announced program reflect Carter's willingness to accede to business pressure. Labor unions had been asking Carter to increase his modest \$5 billion jobs program instead of attempting to stimulate the economy through tax decreases.

But business prefers tax stimulation because it does not create permanent employment obligations on the part of the federal government and does not tend to redistribute income away from business and toward workers. In their 1977-78 budget proposals, the Committee for Economic Development, a private corporate policy-formulation organization,

warned against fiscal stimuli that might "entail a significant long term drain on the nation's fiscal resources," a cagey but obvious reference to the perils of federal job creation.

Moreover, in giving business an option to take an investment tax credit, Carter was also acceding to pressure. New investments do not necessarily create new jobs; sometimes they only eliminate old ones.

The virtue of limiting tax breaks to social security payments is that it encourages labor-intensive production increases.

Creeping stagnation

But Carter's generosity did not impress even his supporters in the business community. Pierre Rinfret of Rinfret Associates, an economic consulting firm, described the investment credit increase as "trying to shoot an elephant with a B-B gun. We need an investment tax credit of about 20 percent."

Last year, the FTC had allowed prices of natural gas to triple. Many peoples' heating bills have already begun to equal or exceed their rents.

Underlying Rinfret's dissatisfaction is an increasing fear among businesspeople that the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries are entering another slump. During the last quarter of 1976, growth slowed to three percent and inflation rose to 6.2 percent.

In the January issue of *Monthly Review*, an independent Marxist journal, the editors review the rate of capital investment and government spending over the last 20 years. They find that even as government deficits, the old palliative, have increased, capital spending has still lagged.

They conclude that the factors that kept capital investment strong during the 1950s and 1960s—military spending and the postwar Euro-Japanese economic reconstruction—"have been losing their strength or actually disappearing. And because of this the capitalist world has been tending toward stagnation, an economic condition in which deep recessions and weak recoveries are to be expected."

Foreign policy initiatives

The Carter administration took some steps toward a new foreign policy orientation last week. State Department spokesman Frederick Brown confirmed statements made earlier by U.N. representative Andrew Young that the administration was considering normalizing relations with Vietnam. Brown said that it was "obviously in the interests of both countries."

Young also took the lead in enunciating the administration's rejection of Rhodesian premier Ian Smith's call for an "internal solution" in Rhodesia, to be reached through negotiations between the Smith government and handpicked moderate leaders. Young reiterated the administration's view that all liberation forces would have to be included in any agreement. Young is due to travel to Southern Africa this week.

Finally, the Carter administration took Czechoslovakia's government to task for harassing the signers of Charter 77, a petition calling for the restoration of

Czech democratic liberties. Spokesman Brown cited the Helsinki agreements on civil liberties as the basis for the administration's criticism.

Austin revisited

The U.S. Supreme Court continued its assault on the achievements of the civil rights movement last week by throwing out a lower court desegregation order for Indianapolis, Ind. schools. The plan would have required that black children be bused to predominantly white suburban schools.

Citing its Austin, Texas, decision, the court demanded that the lower court demonstrate that there had been an intent to discriminate on the part of the school boards.

"We've tended to rely too much on judges and now we need to concentrate on the politicians," Charles Morgan Jr., the former director of the Washington ACLU, said in response to the court's recent decisions.

The banks win

In New York City, the struggle over who will pay for the debt the city ran up in the course of becoming the world's financial center continues. While often waged in language that could only be understood by economists, it involves the most fundamental issues of who rules America.

The latest episode began with the court's declaring last November that the city could not declare a moratorium on the payment on \$1 billion in debts; it had to pay them. To do so, the city turned once again to the banks to help it sell bonds.

But the banks set two conditions on their cooperation: first, the Carter administration would have to pledge five years of emergency loans to the city, and second, the city finances, including wage settlements with city workers, would have to be placed under the control of a state-appointed finance commission. Just so no one would doubt that they intended the commission members to come from their own ranks, the banks stipulated that they "should be people of stature with a reputation to protect, who will inspire confidence in investors."

The banks' demand for guaranteed federal loans ran into strong opposition from Senate Banking member William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), but his opposition was balanced by the firm support of House majority leader James Wright (D-Tx.). By the weekend, the banks had agreed to a vague proposal about federal aid.

The proposal for the control commission sparked immediate opposition. State Assembly speaker Stanley Steingut, a Brooklyn Democrat, proposed that the state retaliate by appointing a member of each of the bank's board of directors and by requiring that all bank proceedings be open to public scrutiny. City unions that have been lending their pension funds to the city threatened to withhold them if the bankers' wishes were granted.

Mayor Abraham Beame himself assured New Yorkers that he would not give in, but by the week's end he had done exactly that. While the control commission would not have all the powers the bankers originally demanded, it would still, in the words of one banker, be "quite powerful."

First to come under the control of the commission's baleful gaze will be the contract recently signed between the city and its teachers. It is expected that the commission will try to cut down teacher wages.



Truman Stromberg
Chicago "anti-subversive unit";
Sept. '71 N.O.W. demonstration.

Photo from Civil Liberties Review

Local "Red Squads" under attack across country

by David Moberg

What made Sammy Rayner a dangerous man?

Some people might quarrel with that characterization. After all, Rayner was the director of three funeral homes in Chicago, the son of an established black businessman, and independent alderman from the Southside Sixth Ward from 1967 to 1971. He had no criminal record, not even a suspicion of one.

But he must have been dangerous to someone or something. Otherwise, why would the Chicago police have over 125 pages of detailed records on his comings and goings from 1963 to 1975?

The answer is simple. Ahmed Arabia "Sammy" Rayner, as the files listed him—often by descriptions such as "associate of Communists," "Communist sympathizer," "Communist" or Alderman—opposed Mayor Richard Daley, and the war in Vietnam, and was occasionally an advisor to the Black Panther Party and various black street gangs.

His record was kept by the Chicago "red squad," recently known as the Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Informational Services. As with hundreds of other local red squads around the country, it didn't take much political activism, let alone suspected "Communist" sympathies, to make it into the files. Over 200,000 Chicagoans had records kept, ranging from members and leaders of leftist organizations to establishment figures such as Republican lawyer Albert Jenner, Episcopal Bishop James Montgomery and John Sengstacke, publisher of the *Chicago Defender*.

Such local red squads, long acknowledged to have no connection to legitimate police activities and usually without any legal sanction, now are coming under attack in several cities. The growing movement to restrain the CIA, FBI, IRS and other government agencies that spy on American citizens is taking local root. But none of the anti-red squad efforts has gone farther than in Chicago where an estimated 500 agents worked during the 1968 Democratic convention.

The first of seven suits to stop the red squad and recover damages was filed by the Alliance to End Repression, a broad community and religious coalition, in

November 1974. Nearly a year later the American Civil Liberties Union filed a complementary suit that also named federal defendants involved in FBI and military intelligence spying.

Through hard legal work, some political breaks, a sympathetically angry judge and a successful publicity campaign, the suits have already won several victories. Nevertheless, the cases are still in the stage of discovering evidence and probably will not be heard for another two years while lawyers sift through hundreds of thousands of documents.

Since the courts have generally ruled that keeping files on citizens does not violate their constitutional rights, the first victory in Chicago was not having the suit immediately dismissed.

Momentum of the case was helped by disclosure of spying in another case brought by the Afro-American Patrolman's League and a grand jury investigation called by Republican State's Attorney Bernard Carey after he discovered that he had been picketed by a group led by an undercover agent.

After a long court fight, the two major lawsuits won the right to receive all red squad records without deletions. Alliance and ACLU lawyers also won the right to know the names of all informers.

Coincidentally, the red squad destroyed, or claimed to destroy, records on 106,000 individuals and 1,300 organizations, in addition to the records of 220 informers. Many of the "destructions" took place after undercover agents working within the Alliance notified their superiors that the suit would soon be filed.

Later the Alliance and ACLU lawyers discovered that they were under surveillance even while working on the case. Federal Judge Alfred Y. Kirkland, a Republican possibly upset at Democrat Daley using his police apparatus against the GOP, then issued an injunction against police spying on plaintiffs and their lawyers. It was a small victory in itself, but a dramatic precedent: it was one of very few court injunctions ever issued against political spying.

Even more significant, following the destruction of the documents, Judge Kirkland ruled that three of the lawsuits' allegations were assumed proven unless the

defendants disproved that they had done any of the following: infiltrated with paid informers and undercover agents, often acted as *agents provocateurs*, and disseminated information from their files to employers, universities and publications.

"We've hit paydirt on what we've done," Alliance attorney Richard Gutman said gleefully. "That's about two-thirds of our allegations. The only things left are wiretapping, beatings and burglaries." Earlier the city admitted that red squad files, once as many as 900 a month, were routinely turned over to the U.S. Civil Service Commission, threatening the subjects' chances for getting a federal job. This established that the files were not merely curiosity-pieces but potentially quite harmful.

In a remarkably bold move, the city of Chicago protested the judge's injunction against police spying on the attorneys in the case. They denied that police spying on lawyers and clients was a violation of lawyer-client confidentiality. Ironically, the very same day Police Supt. James Rochford responded to revelations that police spy files had been kept on the prestigious City Club of Chicago, where Mayor Daley was formerly a member, by saying, "Ridiculous! If they want to catch those spies, I'll help them... For years, as you know, the police kept all sorts of information. Much of it was worthless—garbage, I call it. I question the need for any of it." Those strong words were for the City Club's ears, but the city's action in court was the opposite.

Revelations of spying on establishment figures draws attention to the pervasiveness of spying. It also can distract people from the political aims of the intelligence network. Talking about such hotshot targets, Alliance attorney Gutman said, "The whole point was that they went too far. They started with radicals and then civic groups—and then people got concerned. It was okay to do it against radicals, blacks and the antiwar movement—but, like Watergate, it went too far. There's always been a double standard on spying. We're trying to put forward a principle that the division between lawful and illegal surveillance is whether they're engaged in criminal activity."

Red squads got their start in Chicago and the U.S. after the Haymarket demonstration and bombing in 1886, according to Frank Donner, director of the ACLU project on surveillance. Reaction to anarchists spawned the first squads. They grew during later periods of social unrest—after the Russian revolution, with the rise of the industrial union movement, during the New Deal and during the unrest of the sixties. "Each of these had an energizing effect on the growth of local surveillance," Donner said, speaking in Chicago to a national conference on government spying during the weekend of Jan. 21-23.

"In contrast with more overt forms of restraint," Donner added, "surveillance is extraordinarily efficient. It offers the greatest return in repression for the least investment, not only direct intimidation but also the self-censorship that an individual may engage in when someone feels he may be an antagonist of state power."

With the FBI under attack, some observers think that local red squads may take up the slack. They have always cooperated with federal agencies, setting up files and departmental organizations along the same lines, but they have chafed at their second-class role, providing more aid to the FBI than they got in return. In 1956 the red squads set up a private network among themselves, lacking any legislative basis or control. Called the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, the 225-member organization exchanges information on people under surveillance and on techniques.

Other people think that private agencies, many even more politically right-wing than the red squads themselves, may play a much bigger role in both surveillance and storing records out of reach of lawsuits. In Detroit, lawyers working against the red squad have shown close working ties with Chrysler Corp. securities division, for example.

There are at least 18 active suits—probably many more—against local and state red squads across the country. Loosely linked with a variety of campaigns against federal domestic and overseas spying and with actions against repressive legislation, such suits are important elements of a growing anti-repression movement that combines long-term legal work with community education.

Looking through Sammy Rayner's file, it is easy to agree with him that the local political gumshoes were unfunny Keystone Kops. Most of the files are newspaper clippings. In other instances, there are solemn observations that "subject wears an African robe," "His name appears on the mailing list of C.O.R.E.," he was "reportedly a close friend of —, the disk jockey," he was a former Boy Scout leader, he gave a "V" sign at a rally, and he took part in a meeting where "all the aforementioned speakers made certain to state that it's time the Daley Machine is broken."

But it was no joke. Rayner's campaign, including press conferences, fund-raising rallies and other meetings were spied on. Lists of his contributors and even a copy of his poll-watcher's kit went in his file, one sheet of which identified the subject matter of the investigation as "candidate for U.S. Congressman from the 1st District," not generally considered a subversive activity, although in some cases it does lead to criminal behavior.

Red squad cops may have been incompetent bunglers, but they could also be deadly, disruptive and a deterrent against participation in political activity for all but the most dedicated. It is no accident that the red squad in Chicago mushroomed after 1968. One year later Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, leaders of the Black Panther Party, were killed in a police raid. Now there is virtually no political movement in the black community in Chicago and movement activities elsewhere are often fragmented and ineffectual.

Many old red squad agents have been asking for transfer. Having done their job for a time being, they find the beat too boring. Some of them, however, may find that part of their assignment will be a date in court when the files they kept become dossiers on their own years of illegal activity.

California housing group organizes

By Cary D. Lowe

Los Angeles. Housing activists from throughout California gathered here Jan. 22 to discuss housing conditions and to launch a new statewide housing coalition. An overflow crowd of more than 200 community organizers, union representatives, lawyers, public interest lobbyists and interested individuals agreed to form the California Housing Action and Information Network (CHAIN) to function as an umbrella for the organizing, education and advocacy work of housing rights groups throughout the state.

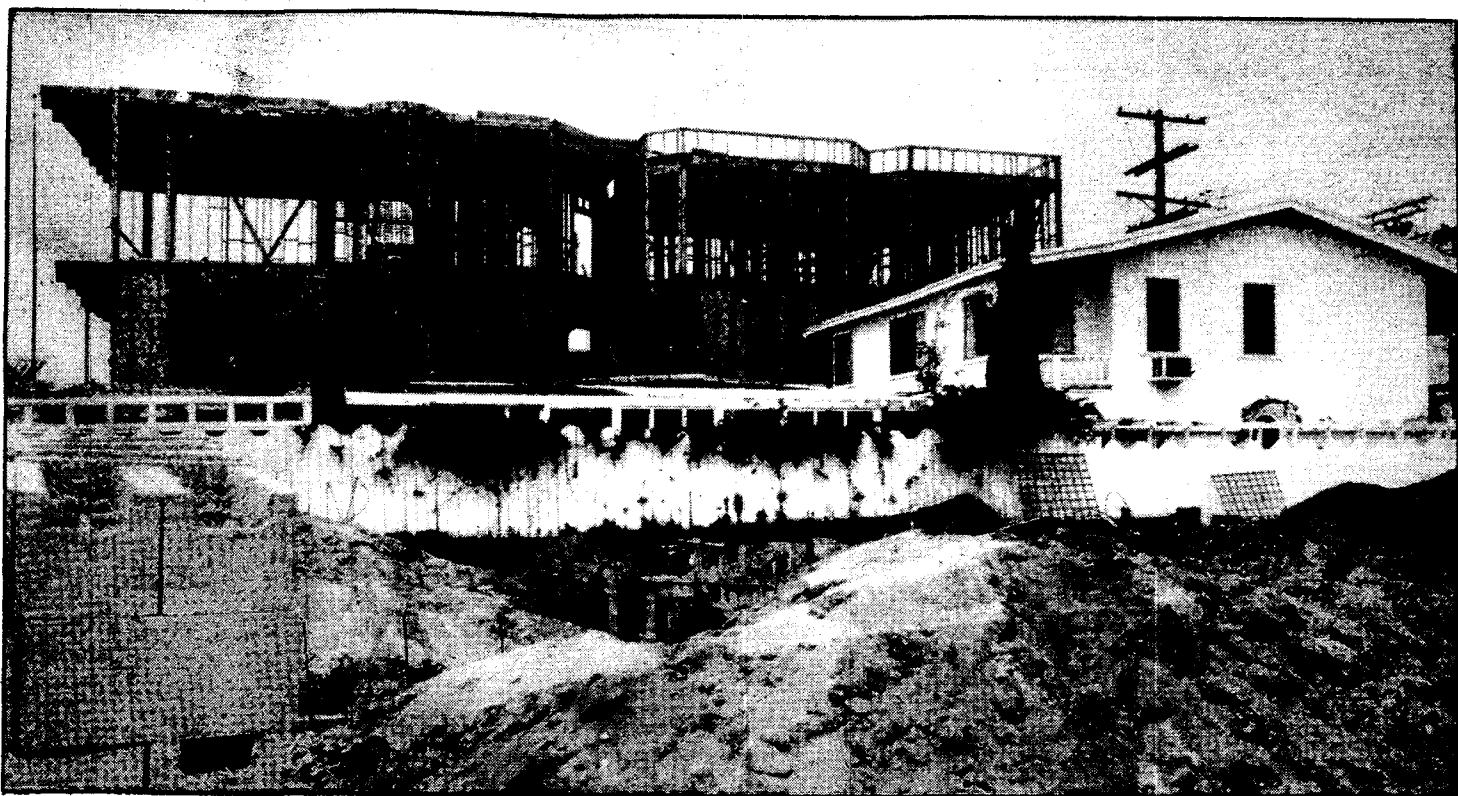
Sponsored by the Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee, California Public Policy Center, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, California Renters' Coalition, Grey Panthers, Southern California chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and other interested groups, the conference came in the wake of an upsurge of housing rights activity in the state. New tenants' groups have been springing up and older groups like the National Housing Law Project and the Lawyers Guild have been developing stronger ties with local organizations.

It also came in the wake of a serious crisis in housing in California. With over 20 million people competing for 8 million housing units, and new construction falling heavily into the high-price, single-family home and luxury apartment category, a serious shortage has developed, particularly for low and middle income people. In Los Angeles County, for instance, where more than half the population are renters, the vacancy rate in apartments has been under two percent for months.

With the shortage have come skyrocketing costs. The 48 percent of the state's population that rent face increases averaging 10 percent a year statewide. The median sale price of a new, single-family home in 1976 was \$50,000, more than twice the 1970 figure, effectively pricing all but well-to-do families out of the market.

Not only is little low and middle income housing being built, but the increasing tendency for more affluent buyers to buy older homes is cutting off many of those most in need from their accustomed source of less expensive homes.

At the same time that the competition for housing is getting stiffer, little is being



California is in the midst of a housing crisis with poor and middle income people the hardest hit.

Photo by Norma Jean Gordon

done to recondition and maintain large segments of older housing that normally is passed on to the poor, but is now deteriorating beyond saving. The State Department of Housing and Community Development estimates that well over a million housing units in California either require serious rehabilitation or need to be replaced outright. But the limited scale of government programs for this purpose and the reluctance to provide rehabilitation loans ("redlining") by private financial institutions, make it unlikely that much of this housing will be rehabilitated.

The need for a new statewide housing organization was demonstrated by the experience of housing rights groups during last year's legislative session. The California Housing Council, a well-financed lobbying group composed of major housing developers and contractors, and represented by ex-Howard Hughes lobbyist Donald K. Brown, narrowly succeeded in pushing through the legislature a bill to outlaw local rent control measures throughout the state. Only a major public furor from housing rights forces assured a veto by Gov. Brown.

But housing interests, along with their

colleagues in real estate and banking, are already preparing for another assault on the legislature. In addition to rent control, housing rights lobbyists told the conference that they expected tax relief for both homeowners and renters, redlining, the future of the California Housing Finance Agency, and other issues to come before the legislature in the coming year.

The conference divided the state into eight regions and each region met separately to discuss a proposed position statement on housing rights and to undertake the first steps toward forming the new coalition.

The conference then decided to incorporate itself and to elect a board of directors on a proportional basis from each of the regions. An interim steering committee was set up with delegates from each region and containing representatives of labor, students, senior citizens, black and Chicano constituencies. The California Public Policy Center agreed to function as coordinator for the steering committee until the election of a formal leadership takes place in the next few months.

A legislative program was adopted with

three key elements: the opposition to industry efforts to limit local rent control, ensuring that pending property tax relief benefits renters as well as homeowners and the broadening of the statutory rights of tenants relative to their landlords.

The program also supports fair housing rights for families with children, controlling housing speculation, disclosure by landlords of their property tax liabilities and operating costs, prohibitions against redlining, more government assistance for housing rehabilitation and conversion to cooperatives, and elimination of the referendum requirement for government assisted low income housing construction.

The delegates agreed to return to their respective regions and organize local groups and individuals not at the conference. Followup meetings were scheduled for mid-March for the northern and southern part of the state, with a statewide convention planned for the fall. By that time, CHAIN hopes to have established itself as the key organization fighting for housing rights in California.

Cary D. Lowe is involved with housing issues in Los Angeles.

Hayden forces take step towards organization

By Jill Breslau and Sam Silver

Berkeley. "The major fault of the campaign was that we should have started two years earlier instead of one," Jane Fonda confided to *In These Times* at a Jan. 15-17 Berkeley conference on "How to Get Progressives Elected." The conference, called by the Berkeley chapter of the organization being formed out of Tom Hayden's unsuccessful campaign for the California Democratic Senate nomination, drew over 300 activists.

The conference was the first meeting of Hayden campaign workers since the November election and was seen as another step towards the grassroots California organization that Hayden said he plans to found.

This was a "nuts and bolts" conference concentrating on the technical details of campaigns. "The purpose was to deal with questions of organization techniques, to bring together people who have campaign skills and to brainstorm with experts with the goal of putting together a campaign manual," says Hayden.

Participants were treated to two days of forums and discussions on a variety of aspects of campaigning, including basic organization, precinct work, voter registration, press relations and media "mani-

pulation," fundraising, labor and minority outreach, voter-designed initiative campaigns and, of course, the role and duties of the candidate.

The importance of coalition politics as the primary method of getting elected and

the need to maintain an alternative style of electoral politics was one of the primary concerns of participants.

The potential of involving a wide variety of citizens concerned with particular issues without ascribing those issues to a particular candidate or party was brought

"Economic democracy:" A prelude to socialism

Sam Hurst, press coordinator for Hayden's campaign, attended the conference and talked with *In These Times* about the future of socialism in electoral activity: "We have to get over thinking of ourselves as a protest movement. We don't want to be part of a movement with a psychology of defeat and rarified protest. The programmatic schemes in *Make the Future Ours* (Hayden's published platform) represent a transition to socialism, but are not explicitly socialist.

"We can realign the rank and file of the party and expose the failures of traditional liberalism without getting trapped in the bureaucracy of the party. Economic democracy is not a sys-

tem nor a substitute for socialism. Economic democracy is a process not a holistic system."

Asked for his comment, Tom Hayden appeared to differ slightly: "One of the problems of the socialist left is the difficulty in defining the prelude to socialism. To call it a transition to socialism is looking at it backwards. To look at it forwards is the struggle to achieve control of corporate power."

Economic democracy, Hayden said, is "less than the ownership of the means of production. What it means is that you're beginning to get people's representatives directly into positions in the decision making process." ■

out in the discussion of the initiative and referendum process.

Other workshops looked at the importance of outreach into minority communities and the identification of issues particular to each community, the methods and importance of polling, the need for strong, efficient campaign organization, and the importance of effective and creative use of the electronic media.

Another concern expressed at the conference was the need to unify electoral and nonelectoral activities. As Bill Zimmerman, Hayden's statewide campaign manager and media consultant for the United Farm Workers, told *In These Times*, "To develop a program that's going to evolve into the basis of a mass movement, the strategy is not limited to the electoral. We have to find a unity between electorally and movement oriented people. People on the left make a serious mistake by elevating a single tactic into a specific and singular strategy."

The Berkeley conference was seen by participants as an important step towards the building of an effective, multi-constituency statewide organization. It also served as the prelude to the upcoming Conference on Alternative Public Policy to be held Feb. 18-20 in Santa Barbara, which may be the next step in the process.

Jill Breslau and Sam Silver live in Berkeley.

Capitol Beat

A shift to conventional

While President Carter was calling for an end "instantly and completely" to all testing of nuclear weaponry, Vice President Mondale was signalling the beginning of an arms build-up in western Europe among NATO allies.

Speaking in Brussels, where NATO's headquarters are located, Mondale referred three times to the "continuing growth in Soviet military power" and said the Carter administration was prepared to increase spending on NATO defenses. He said the campaign pledge to cut the U.S. defense budget by \$5 to \$7 billion was irrelevant to NATO. Meanwhile, the reduction promise already has been scaled down to \$2.8 billion by Defense Secretary Harold Brown.

Carter's eagerness for a total nuclear ban comes on top of his often-expressed desire for quick results on a new strategic arms (SALT) agreement, possibly auguring a new military strategy for the U.S. With huge nuclear arsenals on both sides and near-annihilation assured in the event of nuclear war, the administration is turning attention to the "conventional" forces facing each other in Europe.

Budget time traditionally stimulates well orchestrated alarm campaigns, and Mondale's statements may be this year's version of the "missile gap." Fear of the growing influence of western Europe's communist movements also may be a contributing factor. The presence of NATO troops would have a dampening effect on any tendency that seriously threatened the capitalist bloc in its present European boundaries—for example, Italy.

Alarms on U.S. defense capacity began to be heard shortly after Carter's election. The Committee on the Present Danger, an organization of several hundred hardliners from the military, the federal government, academia and defense industries, urged Carter to increase the Pentagon budget.

Three of the Committee's members, including Johnson-era defense adviser Paul Nitze, were part of the ten-person "outsider" team which reanalyzed CIA intelligence data on national security. This so-called "B team" predictably found the CIA's conclusions to be too optimistic with regard to Soviet intentions, and the findings were promptly leaked to major newspapers. None of the journalists who received and printed the highly classified information will be investigated, rest assured.

On the 25th of January, conservative Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) released his report on the balance of power in Europe, which Nunn said had been given to Mondale before his departure. Not surprisingly, Nunn's study called for a NATO build-up and even provided Nunn an opportunity to urge reinstating the draft. Armed Services Committee head Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) expressed similar sentiments less than a month ago.

Waffling on NYC

So far, Carter's general pledge to keep New York City from bankruptcy has had little result. Mayor Beame was forced to give in to further demands by the junta of major New York banks for more direct supervision of the city's spending.

The banks had called for a five-year extension of the federal loan guarantees as the price of more short-term cash for New York. The Carter administration refuses to make commitments at this time, saying the staff is in the early stages of studying New York's situation.

Besides the no-bankruptcy statements, Carter has hinted that the city should solve

its immediate crisis without federal help, leaving New Yorkers at the mercy of the banks.

Meanwhile, Consolidated Edison, New York's largest utility, hiked its dividend to stockholders by 25 percent while a \$250 million rate increase request is pending with the state's public service commission. Apparently, the banks will allow Con Ed to gouge the public further in New York, where utility rates are already the highest in the country.

Reintroducing S-1?

As if Griffin Bell weren't bad enough as Attorney General, President Jimmy Carter appears ready to name a man to head the criminal division of the Justice Department who is repugnant to civil libertarians.

Controversy was stirring in Washington over the likely appointment of G. Robert Blakey to the post. Blakey, 41, a professor at Cornell University since 1973, worked as a staff lawyer in the Justice Department from 1960 to 1964 and as counsel on the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures from 1969 to 1973.

During that time, civil liberties groups charge, he was responsible for drafting several bills that contain repressive political provisions, including a preliminary version of the massive revision of the federal criminal code. Known as S-1, that code revision was stopped last spring by a public campaign against its harsh criminal penalties, official secrets provisions, anti-radical measures and other undemocratic characteristics.

Now Frank Wilkinson, director of the National Coalition Against Repressive Legislation, fears that S-1 may be revived in Carter's first hundred days. With opposition to S-1 by important liberals, such as Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), now less certain, Wilkinson fears that Blakey's appointment as chief of the criminal division would resurrect the specter of Senate Bill One.

Esther Herst, Washington coordinator of NCARL, ticked off the group's criticisms of Blakey's work under Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.), a powerful figure on the Judiciary Committee:

- Blakey helped to draft the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which gave legislative sanction to federal wiretapping for the first time.

- Blakey played a lead role in drafting the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970. That act authorized calling special grand juries. In subsequent years they were widely used to investigate and harass the left. It also provided for "use immunity," which means that a witness called before a grand jury who refuses to testify under the Fifth Amendment, can be offered immunity from prosecution for whatever they tell the jury. If they then refuse to talk, they can be jailed for contempt. Although witnesses can't be prosecuted for admissions made under immunity, they can be prosecuted for possible crimes at a later date, using other testimony that may have been elicited as a result of things said under "use immunity."

- The same act also provides for giving double sentences or up to 25 years in prison for "dangerous special offenders," who are involved in conspiracies, repeated criminal acts or a "pattern" of unlawfulness.

- Blakey drafted an original version of the criminal code revision that was combined with a Nixon administration bill to form S-1. Although lacking some of the most repressive parts of S-1, Blakey's version was a "very stringent law and order bill," according to Herst.

Both McClellan and Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, have reportedly put their considerable weight behind Blakey's appointment.

"His perspective on criminal law—I don't know if you could call it conservative—it's almost paramilitary," Danny Sheehan, general counsel for the social

justice division of the National Jesuit Office, said. "He's just one of these hard-ware men. He's a great fan of wiretapping."

Sheehan claimed that Blakey, in S-1 debates, "would push and pull from the right wing," that he favored "increasing sentences by a third as the way to deal with crime," and that he opposes any progressive criminal code change.

Although Blakey refused to comment on the charges, claiming that he was not a politician, but an academic and adverse to publicity, he clearly felt the charges were unjustified and that he had always been a "liberal Democrat."

Opponents admit that Blakey has solid professional credentials. However, they share the view of one civil libertarian law professor from a prominent law school now working behind the scenes to block Blakey. His appointment, the professor said, would be an "unmitigated disaster."

Carter's pardon pleases few, angers many

Sen. Barry Goldwater called it "the most disgraceful thing that a President has ever done." The co-editor of *AMEX/Canada*, the eight-year-old magazine of exiled war resisters, described it as a "direct slap in the face to the people that put Carter in office." Louise Ransom, head of the National Council for Unconditional Amnesty, called it "very discriminatory." And Sen. George McGovern said it was a "compassionate and courageous first step."

These are some of the reactions to Jimmy Carter's latest political tightrope act: his pardon of Vietnam-era draft evaders. On his first full day in office, Carter came through with his promised pardon and defended his "balanced, moderate" program from attacks on all sides.

Carter granted a full pardon to about 10,000 draft resisters, about 87 percent of whom are white and middle class. His program excludes those who engaged in force or violence or who worked for the Selective Service System. An estimated 250,000 persons who never registered for the draft will be cleared from legal jeopardy.

The program does not apply to some 100,000 deserters or the estimated 500,000 Vietnam veterans with less than honorable discharges. No clemency is anticipated for these groups, press secretary Jody Powell told reporters, although the President "will act immediately to initiate a study involving the military looking toward a possible upgrading by category or an expanded and accelerated review process."

A Pentagon study of the deserter and discharge questions is "like the prosecuting attorney being the judge," Jack Colhoun, co-editor of *AMEX/Canada*, told *In These Times*. He and other pro-amnesty people see the differentiated discharge system as part of the military's entire co-

ercive system of discipline, intended to "keep people in line."

Carter's program is biased against poor, working class and minority people, they charge. "I think it follows class lines," George Kazolias, who fled from the U.S. Army to France, recently told the *Washington Post*. "The wealthier resisters who had enough information to escape the draft got pardoned. The economically deprived couldn't escape it."

To continue the campaign for universal amnesty, *AMEX/Canada* will host an international conference in Toronto, Jan. 29-30, with representatives from exile groups in other countries and veterans organizations in the U.S. Sponsored by the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, the conference will "build support among draft resisters for deserters, veterans with less than honorable discharges, and anti-war protesters with criminal records," says Jack Colhoun.

"We're also looking to the future, to possible wars in Rhodesia and Southern Africa. We have to solidify the right to resist unjust wars," continues Colhoun. "The conference will also highlight what we now see going on in the Carter administration—the elevation of war criminals like Cyrus Vance and Harold Brown to some of the highest positions in the land."

To focus public attention on the discharge system itself, several organizations in the U.S. are pulling together a 10-day combination vigil-hunger fast in Washington, D.C. at the beginning of February. While some 10,000 draft evaders are undoubtedly pleased with their chance to return to the U.S., many are committed to pressuring the Carter administration to give the same rights to those who protested the war after being inducted to fight it.



Photo by Image Arts/CD

Immigrants from over the border

By David Helvarg

Every evening at dusk they gather in the streets of Libertad, a slum section of Tijuana. There they wait for their Coyotes, the people-smugglers who they have paid to take them across. Soon the Coyotes arrive and begin organizing them in groups of five, 10 and 20. As the sun sets the Coyotes begin moving them out along the dirt and rock covered trails that lead down to Spring Canyon and "Smugglers Gulch." They have little money and carry few if any possessions. They must rely on their Coyotes to protect them from La Migra, the Border Patrol with its buried sensors, airplanes and infra-red scopes, also from campesinos for the most part, crossing over to the U.S. in search of jobs and a better way of life. Collectively they are known as "The Illegal Alien Problem."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimates there are between five and eight million illegal aliens living in the U.S. today. Perhaps 80 percent of these are Mexicans who cross the 2,000-mile U.S./Mexican border in search of jobs.

"To come here was my only chance," explains Jorge, a 22-year-old illegal alien from Guerrero State in the south of Mexico, an area famed for its peasant guerrillas and dope smuggling. "In Guerrero there is no work for the campesinos—only violence."

In Mexico, the campesinos form the poorest 40 percent of the population, with an average per capita income of \$150 a year. Most farm a small piece of land, usually that of an absentee landlord. Their infant mortality rate hovers around 50 percent. Illiteracy, disease and unemployment form an accepted part of their lives.

Since coming to the United States two years ago Jorge has worked as a busboy in one of the expensive tourist hotels on San Diego's Harbor Island. "I think they never question me but they know I don't have the papers," he says. "This way they know I will not complain too much for fear that they will call La Migra on me."

"I make \$60 a week," he continues. This is for six days work. Sometimes I work 12 hours and more. I'm not complaining. I send most of the money to my family."

What if La Migra were to catch him and send him back, I asked. "I would save money, return to Tijuana, pay a Coyote to take me across the border again," he says with a smile.

►No "Coyotes" without a border.

Pedro is a Coyote. A small, thin 19-year-old Chicano, Pedro has been working the border for three years now. "I'm just low

"I guess everyone's ripping off everyone else around the border, ya know. I mean one thing's for sure—there wouldn't be no Coyotes if there wasn't no border."

level, man, and that's all I want. T.J. to Diego for \$100 flat. Now a run to L.A. could bring you \$250, \$500 for New York or Chicago, but then ya gotta hassle with the transportation and everythin'. I'm not into hassling. Like I could use my people as mules, to transport dope, ya know. A lot of people do that. But then if you're transportin' the bandits might hear about it and try an' rip you off, so ya got to pay them a share to leave you alone. Or the Mexican Mafia might decide that you're a good kid and maybe ya gotta start transporting their stuff. Shit, then you're just workin' for someone else again."

"So you prefer to be self-employed?" I asked. "Yeah, man, poor but honest." "What about the idea that the Coyotes are ripping off the illegals," I asked him. "Well, I don't know—I mean I guess everyone's ripping off everyone else around the border, ya know. I mean one thing's for sure—there wouldn't be no Coyotes if there wasn't no border."

►No "border" issue before '30s.

The "border" didn't exist as an issue until the 1930s. After the U.S. seized the Southwest from Mexico, forcing the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexican people continued to work the land. It was largely Mexican labor that built the roads, orchards and mines of a developing southwest.

Then in 1929 the Great Depression came and many Mexican-Americans, unable to find work, were forced onto the relief rolls. They became the target of racist attacks and, not unlike today, were accused of taking jobs from Anglo workers. Amidst the hysteria, the government began a program of mass deportation. Over a million people, many of them lifelong residents of the Southwest, were loaded onto trucks and driven deep into Mexico, where they were dumped.

Farmworkers who attempted to form unions or strike were the first targeted for deportation. In Brownsville, Texas, armed bands of vigilantes set fire to the tents of striking farmworkers while deputies rounded them up for deportation. By the mid-thirties the farm labor unions had been crushed and farm labor was excluded from the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The border patrol was established to "regulate the border."

►Bracero program

During World War II a labor shortage among agricultural workers resulted in the establishment of a government sponsored "Bracero" program in the Southwest. This program brought hundreds of thousands of Mexican nationals across the border to work the harvest. Along with the Braceros came many Mexicans who were not part of the program, but also needed work.

During the '50s, a mild recession combined with Cold War hysteria led to the implementation of a new deportation program known as "Operation Wetback." Between 1954 and 1956 the border patrol, working with army units, rounded up and deported over two million people.

Throughout this period the government continued to expand the Bracero program. "After all," argued a candid Capitol hill spokesman for the agribusiness lobby, "you can't expect to find American workers willing to do this kind of stoop labor for 70¢ an hour."

Finally, in 1964, under pressure from church groups, civil rights groups and organized labor, Congress allowed the Bracero program to expire.

It was with the end of the Bracero program that the United Farmworkers union (UFW) was able to begin to make its first inroads in the organization of agricultural labor.

►La Migra divides the people.

Today La Migra, which means not only the INS and the Border Patrol, but also customs agents, informants, cops and judges, has managed to divide the brown people of the Southwest into three classes. There are the Chicanos, U.S. citizens born in this country but still subject to harassment, having to prove their citizenship every time a cop takes it into his head to "field interrogate" another "possible alien." There are the "Green Carders," Mexican nationals allowed to cross the border to work as day laborers. And then there are the "illegals."

It has become a not uncommon practice among the big growers to use the Green Carders and illegals to break the strikes of the UFW. For example, during the 1974 spring lemon harvest in Yuma, Ariz., highway patrolmen were seen escorting illegal aliens across the border to work fields being struck by the UFW.

This practice initially led the UFW to call for stricter enforcement of immigration laws. But under pressure from urban Chicano groups, as well as "undocumented workers" within its own rank and file, the union soon reversed its hardline position.

Today it calls for amnesty for all illegal immigrants living in this country and has withdrawn its support for the "Rodino bill." The "Rodino bill," a measure that has been kicking around Congress for three years now, is a "liberal" proposal that would penalize employers who hire undocumented workers. The UFW fears that such a law would encourage discrimination by making employers reluctant to hire any brown-skinned people. The real issue, UFW spokespeople now say, is strikebreaking. Laws must be established to punish those who recruit, transport or employ strikebreakers.

The UFW, along with a small but growing number of other unions, including the Textile Workers and Hospital Workers (1199), have come to recognize that a border "closed" to poor immigrants but open to runaway corporations can only serve the interests of the growers and the factory owners.

Says one UFW activist, "Only by organizing the unorganized illegals into the unions and pushing for full citizenship rights for all U.S. residents can we in the trade union movement hope to protect our interests."

►An issue for all.

But the issue goes deeper than the interests of a single movement, race or nationality. Today America is in the midst of the greatest new wave of immigration since the 1920s. Over a million people a year are now arriving in this country in search of jobs and freedom. The U.S. government is spending tens of millions of dollars to stop or turn back the great majority of these people. Big business is taking advantage of their cheap labor while trying to shift the blame and burden of economic hard times onto their shoulders.

Emma Lazarus was supposedly speaking for the nation when she penned the lines that appear on the base of the statue of liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, / The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. / Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me..."

How America treats its illegal alien immigrants, today and in the future, may prove to be one of the clearest indicators of the difference between what we are and what we say we are as a nation.

David Helvarg is a writer living in San Diego.

La Migra harassment continues

By Sam Kushner

For a growing number of Chicanos and Mexicanos in the south-western U.S., the Immigration and Naturalization Service is making the kind of persecution that was typical of the McCarthy era in the '50s a real and present danger. Those who have been involved in the defense of undocumented workers face increasing harassment, long prison terms, possible deportation, or, in some cases, the possibility of becoming a stateless person.

Several recent cases have focused new attention on the INS—known as "La Migra" in the Spanish-speaking communities. Activists charge that they represent a developing pattern of political persecution that, if successful, will succeed in stifling all opposition to its bureaucratic rule.

Jacobo Rodriguez is one such case. Born 40 years ago in Torreon, Coahuila in his native Mexico, he crossed the border without documents during the 1950s and was seized and deported on three different occasions; twice at his workplace and once while walking down the street. For the past 21 years, though, Rodriguez, the father of three U.S. born children, has been a "legal resident" of the U.S., possessing a "green card" that gives him all the rights of other non-citizen residents.

►Green card seized.

Rodriguez is also a critic of "La Migra." Now a bail bondsman, and formerly secretary of CASA/Brotherhood of General Workers, Rodriguez has on many occasions wrested undocumented workers out of the hands of the INS by bailing them out and helping to assure them legal services to which they were entitled.

In 1975 Rodriguez returned from a trip to the Soviet Union and his green card was confiscated at Kennedy airport. For one and a half years his legal status has been held in the balance by INS. He tells of the kind of pressure the INS has been putting on him—questioning him for articles he wrote for the *Los Angeles Free Press* and incessantly questioning his political views.

"Having a green card is no guarantee of freedom from repression," Rodriguez told *In These Times*. Technically at the present time I am not in the United States," he added. The procedure that the INS is putting him through is "worse than deportation." He cannot travel across state lines and "for sure" cannot go across to Mexico. "I have no documents, I have nothing to prove I am a resident, or just anything," he says.

He sees the attempt to intimidate him as "a very clear effort to repress immigrant people." In this he has the backing of the Southern California ACLU, the National Lawyers Guild and many trade unionists. His defense committee (2212 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 90012) is headed by Humberto Camacho, president of Local 1421 of the United Electrical Workers union.

Rodriguez points out that many others

in the Southwest are facing similar persecution by the INS. Rodriguez points to Mario Cantu. Cantu, one of the founders of the La Raza Unida party in Texas, has a restaurant in San Antonio. He reportedly refused INS permission to enter his place of business to check for undocumented workers. The INS returned with a search warrant and Cantu was accused of "harboring undocumented workers." His case is still pending in the courts. "I believe he was singled out by the government, through the INS, because of his past militancy," Rodriguez says.

►Manzo Council.

Another case that has attracted considerable attention and aroused concern is that of four women associated with the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Ariz. The council was founded in 1965 to help cut red tape in social service programs affecting Spanish-speaking people. The council also assisted undocumented workers in gaining residency status. This brought them into conflict with the INS. On April 9, 1976, allegedly searching for evidence of illegal welfare claims from

undocumented workers, the INS raided council offices and confiscated almost 800 confidential client files. No illegal activity was found, but the INS refused to return the files and subsequently arrested 150 undocumented workers seeking legal status who had been listed in the council's files.

In October the INS was told by the courts to either relinquish the files or take legal action, a grand jury was constituted to investigate the council. Four women workers were indicted and charged with 25 charges, including "transportation of illegal aliens, aiding and abetting aliens to elude inspection, knowingly aiding felons, entering false statements, unlawfully copying citizenship papers and conspiracy."

The "transporting" charge involved transporting a 15-year-old girl to a juvenile court hearing where her marriage petition was to be heard. Supporters point out that "transporting" generally is taken to refer to the act of bringing persons without papers across the border and not simply giving them a ride while inside the U.S.

San Ysidro: caught in the crossfire

San Ysidro is a small, mostly Chicano, section of San Diego that lies on the international border, just across the fence from Tijuana. More illegal aliens are said to cross through San Ysidro than any other community in the U.S.

Last year the Border Patrol captured nearly 200,000 "wets," as they call them, in the San Ysidro area. They figure another 600,000 managed to get through, despite the 12-foot, barbed wire-topped border fence, the buried "body sensors" developed for use on the Ho Chi Minh trail, the helicopters, patrol cars and spotter planes.

"It's all a game," says Bob Moore, one of 50 border patrolmen who work the San Ysidro area. "They cut through the fence faster than we can fix it. One night we decided to concentrate all our men and machines on one trail, just to see what would happen. We caught 500 of them in four hours."

Most of the residents are tolerant of the illegals. If they blame them for anything it's bringing La Migra, the immigration authorities, into their barrio. Many people remember two years ago when the kids walked out of Southwestern Jr. High in demand of more relevant courses. "La Migra and the cops began going around to the ring-leaders' houses, asking their parents for their papers," Lio Nunez, a 26-year-old local activist says. "Could you prove you were a citizen if you were asked? A lot of people around here can't. Especially the older people.

They use this as a way to control and intimidate the community."

Lio has lived all his life in San Ysidro, in a small three-room house with his parents and five brothers and sisters. Across the road is an abandoned shack that illegals use as a stopover while waiting to catch the "O" bus downtown. Police often wait at the other end of the bus line to check the I.D.s of those getting off. The local police also recently initiated a "Border Crime Task Force." Volunteers equipped with SWAT-type weaponry lie in the hills around San Ysidro waiting to prey upon the bandits that prey upon the illegals. "Just more guns on the border," commented one of Lio's brothers.

One night I was talking with Lio about my father's arrival in the U.S. 50 years ago, and his disappointment in not being able to see the Statue of Liberty through the fog in New York harbor. "C'mon," he said, "I'll show you how a new immigrant knows he's in the U.S. today." We walked about a mile up a trail from a highway construction site, passing several campesinos going in the opposite direction. Then we walked back down a steeper trail until we reached an old railroad right of way. We walked about a quarter mile along the deserted tracks before Lio pointed excitedly. "There, Cabron, now we know we're back on the U.S. side." Poking up behind a dry dirt escarpment I could just make them out, the golden arches of the San Ysidro McDonalds.

—David Heberg

►Precedent-setting case.

The Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild warns that "this is one of the most significant immigration cases pending. Should the government succeed with criminal convictions they will have a precedent setting case making it illegal for an undocumented person to receive any type of assistance. It will be a crime not to report the presence of 'illegals' to INS." They warn that if the INS succeeds in the Manzo case, similar programs throughout the Southwest would be endangered and the effect on the Spanish-speaking community would be devastating.

A slightly different case involves the INS' effort to deport Jose Jacques Medina, a Mexican attorney with a long history of working with the Mexican student and trade union movements. After being arrested several times and receiving numerous death threats in Mexico, Medina moved to the U.S. in 1973 and became involved with undocumented workers and CASA. On March 29, 1976, Medina was arrested by the FBI, interrogated about his political activities and handed over to the INS for immediate deportation, charged with "illegal entry."

►Seeking political asylum.

While denying the "illegal entry" charge and awaiting action on his legal challenges, Medina has also petitioned the State Department for political asylum in this country. Twelve independent labor organizations in Mexico have backed his claim with petitions saying that he would face serious danger including torture and death if he were deported to Mexico.

Medina and his defense committee (1523 E. Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles 90033) are challenging not just his deportation—his ninth deportation hearing is now scheduled for Feb. 10—but the continuing harassment of undocumented workers in the U.S. They call for an end to policies that prevent undocumented people from legally residing in the U.S.

The current wave of INS harassment cases follows the enactment of a new immigration bill in the last days of the Ford administration. The Eilberg law, which slipped through Congress almost unnoticed (See *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1976) cut the number of legal immigrants from Mexico from 50,000 per year to 20,000 and introduced a number of other restrictive clauses that make it much more difficult, if not impossible, for undocumented people now living in the U.S. to gain residency status.

A coalition of groups has formed to oppose the new law. Included are the United Electrical Workers union, the International Longshoremen's union, Teamster Local 208, CASA/General Brotherhood of Workers and a number of other organizations. They are actively working for the law's repeal.

Sam Kushner is author of *Long Road to Delano* and is a labor reporter and commentator on radio station KPFF in Los Angeles.

Congress reconsidering "Rodino bill" this year

By Sarah James
Washington Bureau

Millions of undocumented workers in the U.S. are wondering whether Congress will send them back to the poverty they tried so hard to escape.

The Illegal Alien Bill—known last year as the Rodino Bill—has been re-introduced by Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration. (Eilberg sponsored changes in immigration law last year also—see accompanying story.) The new bill is an effort to reduce the number of undocumented workers in the U.S. through a system of penalties that would have to be paid by businesses employing workers without legal resident status. For repeat offenders the fine could be as high as \$1,000 per

non-resident employee and even a jail term.

This year's bill contains some new measures to undercut opposition that arose to the Rodino bill last year. The Attorney General will be given the authority to rule on discrimination cases previously brought only to the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, now hopelessly backlogged, to facilitate the claims of Latinos and others who may be automatically rejected for employment on the grounds that they could be non-residents. There will also be a provision for amnesty allowing those aliens who have resided in the U.S. for at least seven years or who face hardship if they are deported to become legal residents.

The only new provision that seems to interest the critics of the bill is amnesty.

Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) intends to press for amnesty for anyone who has lived here for a year instead of the seven-year period written into the bill. Roybal is pressing for this change on the grounds that the effect of the bill will be less drastic if it does manage to pass, but says he intends to oppose the full bill anyway.

The other new provisions, according to David Soble of Roybal's office, are meaningless. Granting the Attorney General increased jurisdiction "is nice in theory but it won't help."

Soble went on to point out that most of the harsh regulations are already on the books.

What are the chances of the bill's passage? Eilberg's office says that Eilberg "will do everything he can, as he has in the past. We always assume that it will

be law, though last year we were surprised." They declined, however, to say whether this year's prospects look better than last.

Taking a more pragmatic approach, David Soble explained that the bill's passage depends upon pressure from organized labor and unemployed U.S. citizens who see the presence of undocumented workers as a cause for their own difficulty in getting jobs. "I wouldn't expect any movement until May," said Soble. "If unemployment drops, the bill may very well die. If unemployment continues at the present rate or rises, it could pass."

What does Carter think of the bill? No one knows and the White House isn't saying. Maybe he's watching the unemployment rate too.

Labor Front

"Flags of convenience"

Fifteen oil tankers spilled millions of gallons of crude oil into the world's waterways in 1976, the worst year in the history of oil spills. Trade unionists, Senate investigators and federal regulators differ on the exact solutions to this problem, but all agree on its cause: oil companies employ "flags of convenience" to escape American taxes, labor costs and health and safety regulations.

About 96 percent of the oil brought into the United States is carried by foreign flag vessels, many registered in Liberia and other countries with minimal regulation. The AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department charges that untrained crews and unsafe construction make these ships a hazard in American waters.

"We will continue to run an unnecessarily high risk of future oil spills if we continue to rely on flag of convenience vessels with their untrained seamen to carry a substantial portion of our oil," Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers Union, told a Senate committee in January.

About one-third of the ships masquerading as Liberian are owned by U.S. corporations. Compared to tankers registered in the U.S., "most foreign flag ships have payroll costs at least \$1 million less (per year) for the same size crew," admits Philip Loree, head of the Federation of American Controlled Shipping. With the "flag of convenience" arrangement, shippers can circumvent the union hiring hall, avoid union wages, escape American safety standards and inspections, not pay U.S. corporate taxes and build tankers more cheaply in foreign ports.

In addition, foreign construction and safety standards are lower than in the U.S. charges Shannon Wall, president of the National Maritime Union (NMU). Disastrous oil spills are thus more likely. According to the British magazine *Sea-trade*, the "flag of convenience fleet has a total loss rate that, in most years, is two to three times as high as the world average loss rate (and the world average would itself be lower were it not for the convenience fleet)..."

Congress is studying various proposals to upgrade tanker construction and accumulate funds to clean up accidents. Labor representatives have advanced controversial changes in the shipping laws that would require 30 percent of all U.S. imports to be transported in American ships. This and other laws, they believe, might curb the oil companies "right to work" practices on the high seas.

Electrical workers dissatisfied

Rank and file dissatisfaction in the electrical industry has surfaced in the IUE, the International Union of Electrical Workers, where incumbent president David Fitzmaurice beat challenger William Bywater by a slim margin of only 9,000 votes last month. "Fitzmaurice made a terrible showing for someone who was incumbent candidate and had all the union staffers out campaigning for him," explains Todd Smith, president of IUE local 777. "There's a lot of dissatisfaction in the union, as shown by several wildcats during negotiations last year and the fact that only 30 percent of the membership voted in this election."

A movement for democratic decision-making and greater attention to health and safety problems is also gaining steam in the largest electrical union, the 900,000-member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW).

In Chicago, a dissident caucus in IBEW local 1031, one of the largest union locals in the country with 16,000 members, has put together a slate of candidates to challenge the established leadership in an April election. Formed in 1973, the United IBEW Workers has won every steward election it has entered, including the position of Chief Steward at one Chicago



Photo by Image Arts/SD

Maritime trade unions demonstrate against the use of unsafe foreign-flag shipping by American firms, focusing their protest on the sunken remains of the tanker Sansinena in Los Angeles harbor. The Liberian-registered ship exploded Dec. 17 killing seven persons.

plant. The caucus recently filed suit against the current leadership for fraudulent voting procedures at the local's last meeting and for violation of member's freedom of speech.

At the December meeting, the leadership stifled discussion of controversial changes in the local's by-laws, caucus members charge, and called the police to stop the distribution of caucus literature. The by-law changes eliminate steward elections and will make it very difficult for all union members to vote in the April election.

"A lot of people are very mad about this," says Everett Biegelski, co-chair of the United IBEW. "We've gone to union meetings year after year and aren't allowed to participate. We want to change the union so members can talk and take part in union business." Their lawsuit is pending in Chicago District Court.

The caucus points out that Maurice Perlin, local union president for 12 years who recently was forced to retire after being elected as an Appellate Court judge, has been paid \$79,000 per year to run the union when he's never worked in an electrical plant. "Running the union with an iron hand, he tried to stifle all dissent and many people felt he collaborated with the companies," caucus members say.

In their growing campaign to oust Perlin's hand-picked successor, another lawyer who lacks any shop experience, the United IBEW has leafletted electrical plants throughout the city, sponsored major fund-raising events, and won endorsements from local politicians and community leaders. "We are dedicated to fighting for a democratic, rank and file controlled union, decent wages and healthy working conditions, an end to discrimination of all kinds and no more cozy union/company arrangements," the caucus declares.

Pressure on Argentina

European-based international labor federations are moving to block Argentina from successfully renegotiating its national debt as a way of pressuring the government to release imprisoned trade unionists and restore collective bargaining rights.

The worldwide effort comes at a time of acute financial crisis for the regime of Gen. Jorge Videla. Unless he can generate European support for the country's sagging economy, multinational corporations and banks will turn away from further investment there.

The action was initiated by the Latin

American affiliate of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL), a Christian-socialist federation with some 15 million members. "We are now in touch with the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) in order that its member organizations may call upon their respective governments to ensure that a possible renegotiation of Argentina's foreign debt be subjected to the effective respect of human and trade union rights," says Jan Kulakowski, president of the Belgium-based WCL. The ETUC has a total membership of about 35 million and represents 30 national labor federations in Europe.

If ETUC follows the WCL proposal, the "free world" International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) may also turn the economic screws on the Argentinian government. The ICFTU is sending a special factfinding mission to Argentina to demand "the release of all imprisoned trade unionists ... and to take all the necessary measures to restore and guarantee the free exercise of trade union rights and freedoms, including the right to strike," says ICFTU Gen. Sec. Otto Kerstein (Information from Rod Larson of Research Associates International.)

Who is Lloyd McBride?

On Feb. 8 over one million members of the United Steel Workers will elect their new union president, ending the most bitter, hotly-contested and politically significant election since Arnold Miller unseated Tony Boyle in the United Mine Workers. Battling to defeat Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent candidate, is Lloyd McBride, director of the union's St. Louis district.

Who is Lloyd McBride? Ernie DeMaio, a retired vice-president of the United Electrical Workers (UE), first ran into him at the Illinois state CIO Convention in 1949. DeMaio was vice-president of the Illinois CIO at the time. While reporting a resolution from the platform, he heard someone yell out behind him and "turned just in time to see this huge man coming at me with a karate chop."

DeMaio ducked and barely avoided the blow that came from ex-wrestler Lloyd McBride, then a USW staffman operating out of southern Illinois. The attack "was one of the opening guns in the wrecking of the CIO," DeMaio recently told *Labor Today* in Chicago.

If McBride wins this election, it may be the last time union members directly vote for their president. In its Jan. 17 issue, *U.S. News and World Report* says that McBride now shares the opinion of retir-

ing USW president I.W. Abel that future elections should be handled in union conventions, where the national staff casts about one-fourth of the vote, rather than in the tumultuous setting of a membership referendum.

Taking care of business

When steel companies suddenly raised prices in December, then President-elect Carter rushed to assure his business allies that he had "no intention of asking Congress to give me standby wage and price controls and have no intention of imposing wage and price controls in the next four years." He thus reversed a campaign pledge to request standby authority in order to forestall further price increases by companies anticipating such controls.

But higher prices are still in the works if companies follow the advice of Pierre Rinfret, the head of a prestigious economics-consulting firm. "I'm telling my clients not to believe what any politician says," Rinfret told the *Wall Street Journal*. "One country after another has gone to controls. The prudent man would assume that this administration, at some stage, will impose controls, regardless of promises."

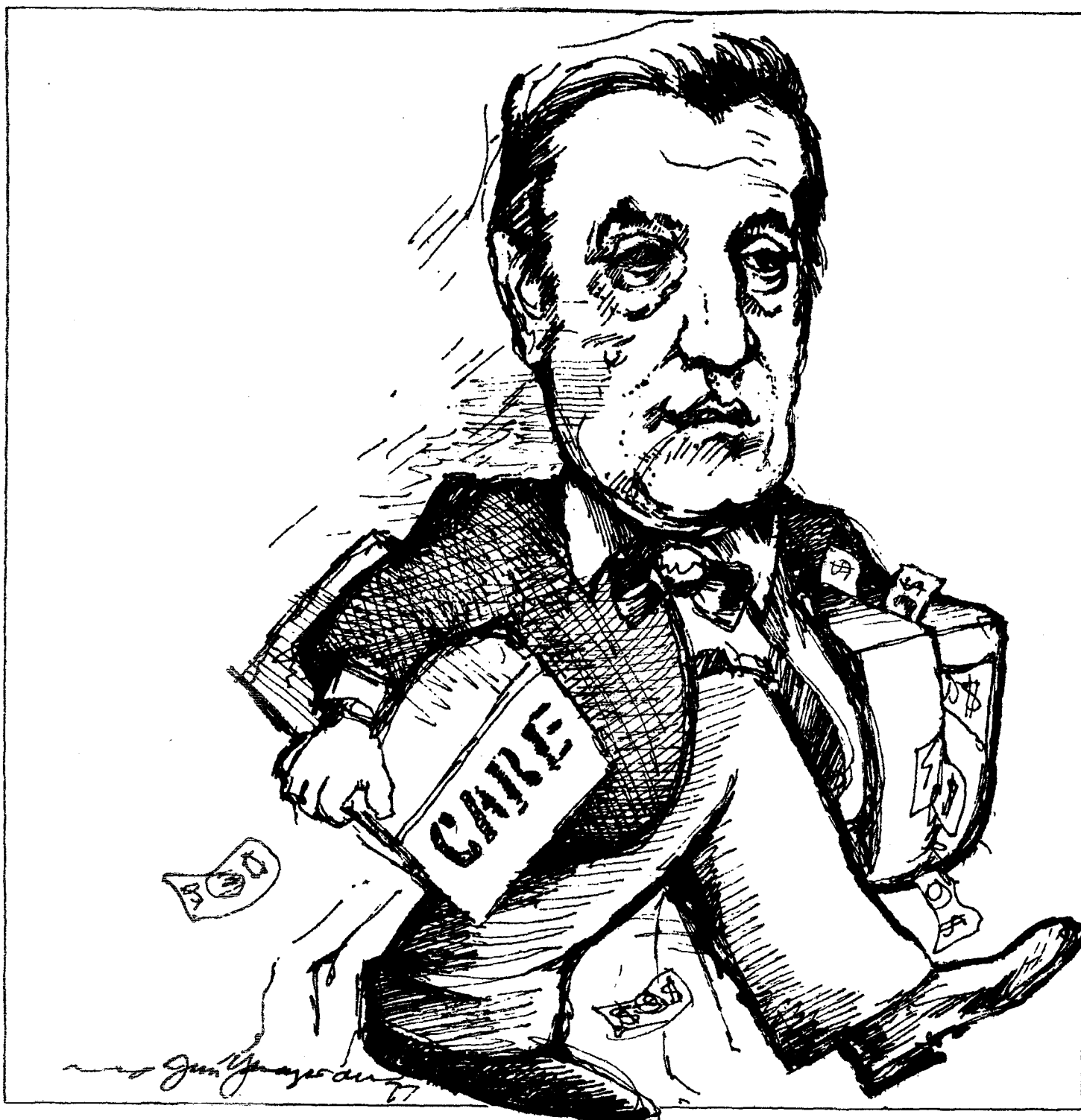
Rinfret is counselling business to follow the steel companies' lead and hike prices as quickly as possible. "Take care of yourself, your company, your own interests. Raise prices. The best inflation hedge is to raise prices faster than anyone else," he says.

What about Carter's patriotic appeals to hold down inflation and strengthen the national economy? "The name of the game is to survive," Rinfret replies. "All else is secondary. Is it patriotism not to raise prices and still have wage and price controls imposed? Is patriotism a pricing policy that jeopardizes the corporation's solvency in order to cooperate with government wishes?"

Can Carter decrease unemployment without a rise in inflation? "No economist in the world today knows how to reconcile full employment and low inflation in a free economy. Anyone who says he does is a liar. The only way to reconcile it is to abolish the free market," he answers.

In Rinfret's view, this ultimate reconciliation is not as far in the future as some may think. "The world is going left at an accelerated rate," he observes. "The wave of the future in terms of trend is socialism and communism."

IN THE WORLD



Mondale's trilateral trip

Vice-president's mission is "to goose Germany and Japan to expand faster."

Vice President Mondale's shuttle to Europe and Japan reflects the new foreign policy focus of the Carter administration. Mondale's trip, along with the economic summit meeting scheduled for this summer, is intended to create economic coordination among the advanced capitalist countries as a precondition for dealing with the rest of the world.

Under Nixon and Kissinger "pentagonism," the view prevailed that the world is dominated by five power pulls—U.S., USSR, Europe, Japan and China. The U.S. was seen as acting unilaterally, changing its alliances with changing circumstances.

In contrast, the Carter administration views the prime factor in world affairs as the three-sided alliance between the advanced industrial capitalist nations of Europe, Japan and North America. This is known as "trilateralism," and grew out of a "private" policy making think tank called the Trilateral Commission, which was created in 1973 with the backing of David Rockefeller.

The Trilateral Commission, composed of leading financiers, industrialists, politicians and academic experts from the industrialized nations, formulated a strategy aimed at harmonizing the policies of the industrialized capitalist nations to work out a common program for monetary and financial reform amongst themselves and towards the third world.

No less than ten Trilateral Commission members—including Carter and Mondale—fill the top ranks of the White House and Departments of State, Treasury and Defense.

►Economic growth the focus.

The focus of this trilateral strategy will be to shore up the economies of the advanced capitalist countries in order to prevent a threatened slide into a new economic slump. The trilateral approach is to stimulate the growth of the three king-pin economies—the U.S., West Germany, and Japan. As one Trilateral Commission member explained, "Our main job is goosing Germany and Japan to expand faster."

The idea is that economic growth in these countries would eliminate the lag in world trade and act as a locomotive to pull along the weaker Western economies—particularly Great Britain, Italy and France.

With inflation rates of under seven percent, the kingpin countries can, it is argued, stimulate their economies without risking an inflationary spiral. Italy, Britain, and France, with 22, 15 and ten percent inflation rates, cannot afford this luxury.

►Resistance from Germany.

As he departed for Brussels, Mondale gave expression to this strategy. "Economics is up front as an issue," Mondale said. "...If we could work cooperatively on the solution of these problems, we'll be able to do a better job."

Mondale's main concern in his European talks was to talk West German Helmut Schmidt into abandoning austerity measures. Prior to Mondale's arrival, Schmidt rejected any American pressures.

Schmidt had told the *New York Times*: "Any American economists who argue that the solution to our problems here is

reflation should go back and study the problems of Europe. Until then, they'd better please shut their mouths." In back of Schmidt's fears was the spectre of Weimar Germany's uncontrollable inflation.

But by the end of Mondale's visit Schmidt had repudiated the *New York Times* interview and had promised a review of West German fiscal policies.

►Japanese trade surplus.

Tokyo will be the other main stop on Mondale's visit. The Japanese have already agreed to a 17 percent budget increase in 1977, which is designed to stimulate industrial growth. But the issue that poses the greatest threat to trilateral unity is American and European resentment toward the Japanese trade surplus.

Last year Japan had a \$5 billion trade surplus with the U.S. and a \$4.2 billion with the Common Market nations. Richard Cooper, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and a Trilateral Commission member, recently called this a "matter of concern." Mondale will seek Japanese agreement on export controls.

If Mondale and the Carter administration can achieve the unity and prosperity they seek among the trilateral nations, they expect they will be able to bargain with both the socialist countries and the Third World countries from a position of increased strength. Of particular concern in the future will be negotiating the repayment of \$150 billion in Third World debt to private Western banks and reaching an agreement to stabilize raw materials prices.

Mondale's trip is the first leg on this strategy.

—Robert A. Manning

New violence grips Spain

A wave of political murders and kidnappings have plunged Spain into a political crisis.

Monday, Jan. 22, members of GRAPO, which claims to be a leftwing organization, kidnapped Lt. Gen. Emilio Villaescusa Quilis, the president of the Supreme Council of Military Justice. Last December, GRAPO had kidnapped the rightwing president of Spain's Advisory Council of State Antonio Maria de Oriol y Urquiza. The kidnappers are holding both men until the Spanish government releases 200 political prisoners.

On Tuesday, an organization called the Triple-A, the Apostolic Anti-Communist Alliance, shot six Communist lawyers and a secretary in a Madrid office, killing six of them in retaliation for the kidnappings. Triple-A is associated with an Argentinian organization of the same name.

The rightwing killings, in turn, prompted a wave of demonstrations and strikes in Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao, involving over 600,000 workers. On Wednesday, 100,000 workers marched in a Madrid funeral for the dead Communists.

The kidnappings and killings have been denounced by everyone from the government to the Communist party. They are seen as an attempt to provoke a rightwing military coup before the June parliamentary elections. There is even speculation that GRAPO is a right and not a leftwing organization.

On Thursday, the Suarez government instituted Franco-era police powers in order to stop the violence and banned all demonstrations. But they rescinded the ban on demonstrations to allow a Communist demonstration in Barcelona for the murdered lawyers.

The killings and kidnappings are not expected to block Spain's democratization. A senior Spanish general dismissed any thought of military intervention. Describing the army's reaction, he said that "the army had unquestionably shown its apoliticism, serenity and confidence."

Quebec premier makes U.S. pitch

Rene Levesque, Quebec's new premier, came to New York last week to reassure American businesspeople that they would not have to fear nationalizations in an independent Quebec. Speaking at New York's Economic Club, Levesque said that he and his party, the Parti Quebecois, "are not against foreign investment as such, and we have no intention of picking fights with private enterprise."

American business presently controls over 30 percent of Quebec's industry and employs a quarter of its manufacturing workers. American banks have been a crucial source of both public and private funds.

The presence of advocates of nationalization within the Parti Quebecois has alarmed American investors and prompted Levesque's visit. Levesque told the businesspeople that the only nationalization he favored was of the General Dynamics controlled asbestos industry.

But Levesque made no bones about favoring Quebec's independence. He compared Quebec's struggle for independence to that of the 13 colonies. "In my opinion," he said, "the question everyone interested in Quebec and Canada should be asking is not whether Quebec will become independent, not indeed when it will happen, but how."

Levesque's remarks were greeted largely with silence and in one case, when he suggested that Canada's present political institutions were obsolete, with laughter.

A New French Revolution?

A Four-Part Series



Part II

Left unites around Common Program

By Bernard H. Moss

In 1972 the French Socialist and Communist parties agreed to a "common program" for achieving socialism. Since then, the united left has steadily increased its vote and its active membership. In the 1978 assembly elections, a left victory is now deemed likely. In a series of four articles, of which this is the second, Bernard Moss explores the nature of the coalition between Socialists and Communists and the chances for the "peaceful transition to socialism" that they seek.

The united left in France, which is expected to win and assume governmental responsibilities in 1978 is pledged to the implementation of the Common Program signed in 1972. This program for an advanced social democracy is not simply an electoral platform nor a statement of lofty ideals, but a contract for governing that is politically binding upon the signatories—Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals.

The aim of the Common Program is to combine rapid social progress for working people with a restructuring of political and economic life that will free leading sectors of the economy from capitalist control and introduce workers' control into economic life. Once workers have tasted popular power and experienced a dramatic improvement in their lives, they will, the Common Program assumes, be willing to fight for the social ownership of all farms, offices, and factories.

►Break monopoly control.

The speed and ease with which Communists and Socialists reached agreement on these grave matters astounded most experts. But certain changes in party outlook have occurred in the 1960s to smooth the way for the accord.

The Communists struggled hard to commit the Socialists to a social transformation, while the Socialists maneuvered to obtain solid guarantees of political democracy from the Communists. When both sat down in 1972 they reached easy agreement over the most pressing economic and social reforms, reserving their most serious disagreements for the extent of nationalizations and foreign policy, particularly in regard to the Common Market.

The major thrust of the program is to break the backbone of monopoly control

of the economy, which has harmed consumers, tax-payers, workers and small businesspeople alike, through nationalizing all financial institutions and nine of the largest industrial trusts. The nationalization of all banks and insurance companies will also give the workers' government control over domestic credit and foreign exchange.

Nationalization of the nine trusts—the Communists had originally proposed 25—will ensure democratic control over the fields of nuclear energy, aerospace, armaments, drugs, mining and non-ferrous metals.

These industries employ only 800,000 workers and provide 14 percent of the national product, but together with the existing public sector they absorb nearly half of the annual industrial investment.

In addition, the government is empowered to purchase majority holdings in the electrical, chemical, steel and petroleum industries and to propose the nationalization of other industries at the request of the employees.

With this control over the commanding heights of the economy, a workers' government will be able to implement the guidelines of an economic plan directed toward fulfilling the needs of collective and personal consumption. Investment will be directed away from the capital-intensive, export-oriented multi-nationals and toward internal consumption.

By revitalizing consumer industries, utilizing full plant capacities and absorbing the unemployed and underemployed, the left hopes to raise annual growth rates to eight percent. Greater productivity of the economy will allow for a reduction of the work week—now the longest in Europe—from 46 to under 40 hours, the control of prices, and a raise in the minimum wage to about \$600 a month.

►Worker control.

Budget surpluses will be realized from the elimination of subsidies and credits to large monopolies, increases in corporate taxes, and the reduction of the arms budget. They will be channeled into comprehensive social programs including public housing, child care, maternity leave, free medical care, higher pensions and earlier retirement.

These nationalizations will not only permit a radical improvement in material standards, but they will open the doors

of large industry to worker control. The public sector will be managed by tripartite boards consisting of equal representatives of government, consumers, and workers, which will be entrusted with making basic decisions about investments, pricing and markets in conformity with the guidelines of a flexible national plan. Plant committees elected by workers in both private and public sectors will be given extended authority over health and safety, working conditions, and personnel practices as well as the right to review company books and records.

Through a national employment agency, the government will provide job training and guarantee a job for all. Experiments in the enlargement and enrichment of tasks will be promoted. The experience of democratic management in the public sector will encourage workers in the private sector to demand the same, setting in motion an expanding movement of workers' control leading to socialism.

►Give middle class a stake.

The purpose of an advanced democracy is to give the overwhelming majority of the population a real interest in the revolutionary process. Greatest gains will go to the working class, especially its most underpaid sector, but the salaries of most white-collar workers—clerical, technical and supervisory personnel through middle management—will also be raised.

The burden of taxation will be lightened on small businesses and farms, which will also be given incentives to modernize and form cooperatives. The price for these gains will be paid by large shareholders, financiers and top management personnel.

By giving most of the middle class a material stake in the regime, the left hopes to secure their support and isolate the wealthy bourgeoisie from their natural allies. An overzealous policy of confiscatory nationalizations or of wage equality will, they believe, as the case of Chile demonstrated, drive the middle class into the arms of reaction.

Only after the complete socialization of the economy and destruction of capitalist power will it be possible to reduce the prerogatives and privileges of the middle class—compress wage differentials, prune unnecessary supervisory and administrative posts, and eliminate the non-productive financial and speculative sectors of the economy.

With control of foreign credit and exchange, the left will be able to check the outflow of capital to safer capitalist ports. The left considers the economy to be resilient enough to withstand any international embargo and boycott instigated by the U.S. If such pressure is applied, the French hope to be able to turn not only to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and the Arab countries—upon whom they are dependent for oil in any event—but to other Common Market countries as well.

►Disagreement over Common Market.

On the question of the Common Market there is still some disagreement between Socialists and Communists. The Socialists have always favored strengthening the supranational institutions of the Common Market in the hope that together with other European Socialists they could eventually overcome its capitalist bias. The Communists, more realistically, have always maintained that a socialist France would be incompatible with a free market economic community dominated by political forces hostile to socialism.

In the program the Communists have agreed to pursue democratization of the Common Market, while safeguarding the integrity of the French economy from outside interference. France, they say, is as indispensable to other Common Market countries as they are to France. Through the exercise of the veto, De Gaulle was able to turn the Market in the direction of French interests. The left hopes that it will be able to use the same power to turn the Market in a socialist direction.

The framers of the Common Program have few illusions about the resistance their regime of advanced democracy will encounter. In preparing for the onslaught, however, they think that the best precaution is not in stocking arms and training guerrillas, which would most certainly trigger government repression even before the movement was underway, but in winning the largest possible consensus for the passage to socialism. By winning democratic legitimacy, a socialist government will be in a position to crush any subversive movement that may arise.

—To be continued.

Bernard Moss lives in Paris and is writing a book on the French left. He is the author of *The Origins of the French Labor Movement*.

Smith faces renewed Rhodesia war

African states throw full support to Patriotic Front formed by ZANU and ZAPU.

By Robert A. Manning

With Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith's rejection last week of the British proposals for transition to majority rule, the African "frontline states" of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, and Zambia renewed their call for all-out war against the white settler regime and threw their full support to the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe of ZANU and Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU.

Smith says that he will now seek an "internal solution" by negotiating a separate settlement with moderate blacks along the lines of the earlier Kissinger proposals. Patriotic Front leaders claim this would leave white power intact in Rhodesia.

But the Smith regime faces difficult obstacles in securing such a settlement. Black leader Abel Muzorewa, the only moderate leader with any following, has no effective organization. During the Geneva talks that recessed in mid-December, several high-ranking members of Muzorewa's delegation left and joined the Patriotic Front. Moreover, Muzorewa has no backing among black African states.

Responding to Smith's intransigence, Carter administration officials have also refused to support an "internal solution" and have demanded that Smith negotiate with all the liberation forces.

The prospect of renewed guerrilla war looms. It would culminate either in the

collapse of the Smith regime through economic as much as military pressures, or in a settlement forced upon Smith by the U.S. and South Africa. Both nations fear the consequences of the victory of the socialist-oriented Patriotic Front for foreign investment in Rhodesia.

►Patriotic Front.

The formation of the Patriotic Front signaled a new era in Zimbabwean nationalist politics, ending 13 years of factional and personal rivalry.

Until recently, landlocked Rhodesia was surrounded by white colonial regimes—South Africa to the south, and Portuguese Angola and Mozambique to the west and east. Without a secure rear base from which to launch a guerrilla struggle, much of the nationalist movement found itself in jail or in exile or underground and prey to internecine disputes.

ZAPU, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, was founded in 1962 by Joshua Nkomo, the "grand old man" of Zimbabwean nationalism. In 1963, Ndabini Sithole and Robert Mugabe, the present Secretary General of ZANU, split from ZAPU in part over the issue of how much to emphasize armed struggle and formed ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union.

Although in the mid-1960s both ZAPU and ZANU conducted sporadic armed actions and sabotage, they were unable

to launch a protracted guerrilla war. When Mozambique gained its independence in 1975, it became the staunchest backer of Zimbabwe liberation. Besides providing the guerrillas with a secure base camp, it, along with Tanzania, encouraged the resolution of political differences and personal rivalries within the movement.

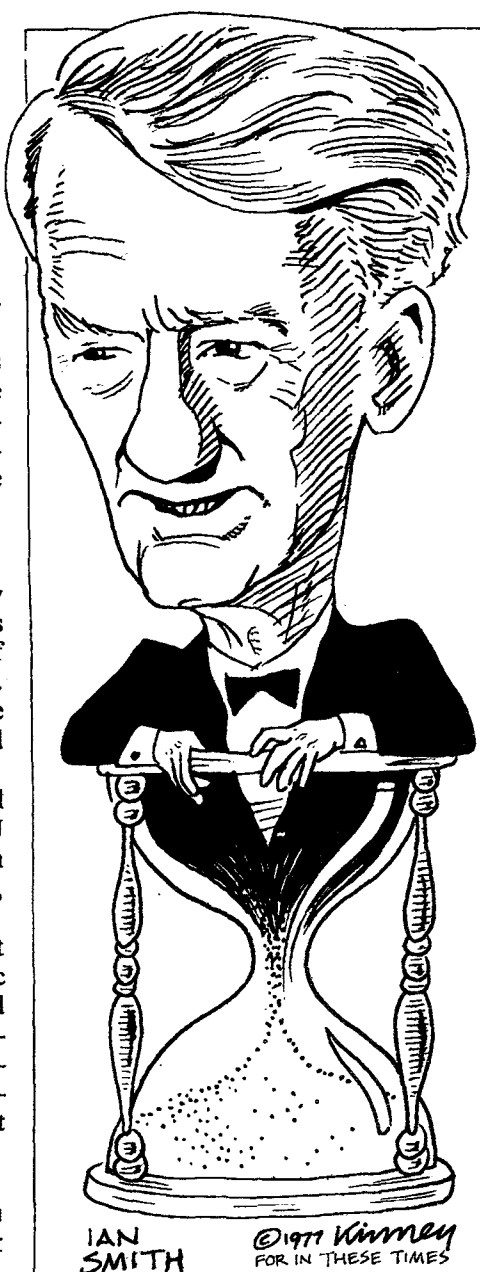
►ZIPA formed.

In late 1975, a process was initiated by which ZIPA, the Zimbabwe People's Army, was formed out of the merger of the guerrilla forces of ZANU and ZAPU. In an effort to minimize divisions, all the old nationalist politicians were barred from the base camps.

ZIPA was founded officially in April 1976 with a high command of nine ZAPU and nine ZANU leaders. But ZANU, with the largest number of guerrilla fighters, wields the greater influence.

The formation of ZIPA led later that year to the formation of the Patriotic Front, a political coalition of ZANU and ZAPU. While a variety of views are represented within the Patriotic Front, ranging from Marxism to petit-bourgeois nationalism, ZANU's Marxist and socialist orientation clearly predominates.

Robert A. Manning is a free lance journalist from Berkeley who has travelled in and written about southern Africa.



By John Judis

In mid-January, with the Geneva talks stalled and focus of the Rhodesian conflict again shifted to the armed struggle, *In These Times* interviewed Tapson Mawere, the Zimbabwe African National Union's representative to the United Nations.

Q. What is ZANU?

A. The Zimbabwe African National Union was founded on Aug. 8, 1963, for the purpose of armed struggle in Zimbabwe. ZANU is the major liberation organization and has been fighting in earnest since 1972.

Why did you decide that armed struggle was necessary?

Because we had been engaged in the civil rights movement for a reasonably long time and noticed that each time a political party was strong enough to make its demands felt, the government would outlaw the party and have all the leaders arrested or detained.

And then we would start all over again, and when that political party would gain enough strength, it would be the same thing. So we understood that we were not going to go any place by visible means of petition, and that the best alternative was to have a direct confrontation.

What do you think the effects have been so far of the armed struggle?

It has been very successful, so successful that it induced the United States and South Africa to introduce talks so that a settlement could be reached.

►Military defeat imminent.

Do you think that without the armed struggle, there would have been no talks?

Without the armed struggle, there would have been no such thing. The Rhodesian government of Ian Smith declared itself independent of Britain in 1965. Since then the British government has been trying unsuccessfully to persuade the Smith government to allow participation by blacks in the government so that an agreement can be reached whereby Rhodesia can be granted independence.

But because of victories that have been scored by the freedom fighters, Smith is finding himself with very little choice. If

ZANU places hopes on armed struggle



Tapson Mawere: The only acceptable settlement is the immediate transfer of power.

he can't reach a settlement, ultimately he is going to lose. He is going to suffer a military defeat.

Why do you think he is going to suffer a military defeat?

In 1972 we had a handful of freedom fighters operating from a very small area, but today we have thousands of freedom fighters fighting everywhere in the country and as a result a great many settlers are leaving the country, up to 560 a month.

This is definitely a drain on the economy because the people who are leaving are the professionals—the doctors, lawyers, scientists, and so forth.

In addition to that, an industry such as tourism, which has been a very big part of the economy, has suffered terribly. It has come to a standstill. Hotels and resort areas are either sitting idle or completely closed.

There are also reports of white schools closing down and many businesses also. These are signs of the impact the freedom fighters are having.

►Kissinger plan unacceptable.

The Geneva talks look like they are permanently stalled. Did you expect a settlement out of them?

When we went to Geneva, we did not see that the Geneva talks were going to be successful, but then we were prepared for any eventuality.

The main reason the Geneva talks have not succeeded is because the Kissinger package deal was not really intended to transfer power from whites to blacks, but actually to consolidate power the way it is today. It was totally unacceptable to us.

Why do you think the Kissinger plan was simply one to consolidate power?

Didn't it promise majority rule in 1978?

The way we understand it, the way Smith puts it across, is this: the deal says that majority rule will come in two years. Now in the interim period there will be a council of state which has equal representation with a white chair. That means Ian Smith as the chairman.

Now this would be the real government, and one of the duties of the Council of State was to draft a constitution for Zimbabwe, and so you can see, here is Smith himself writing a constitution. It is very apparent that he is not going to write a constitution that will completely remove power from himself.

Secondly, under the council of state, there was going to be a council of ministers with a white minister of defense and a white minister of justice. So already you can see that the interim structure maintains where it is today.

If the interim structure maintains power where it is today, how can we know that two years later power will be transferred. Also in the interim there will be a ceasefire which means that our forces will be disarmed, and then sanctions will be lifted.

We would be left empty-handed. If we did not like the constitution, we would have no power to enforce our position because we would be disarmed.

So we see what has taken place was intended fundamentally to achieve two things: to disarm the guerrillas and to remove the sanctions so that Smith can really consolidate his power.

What kind of settlement would you accept?

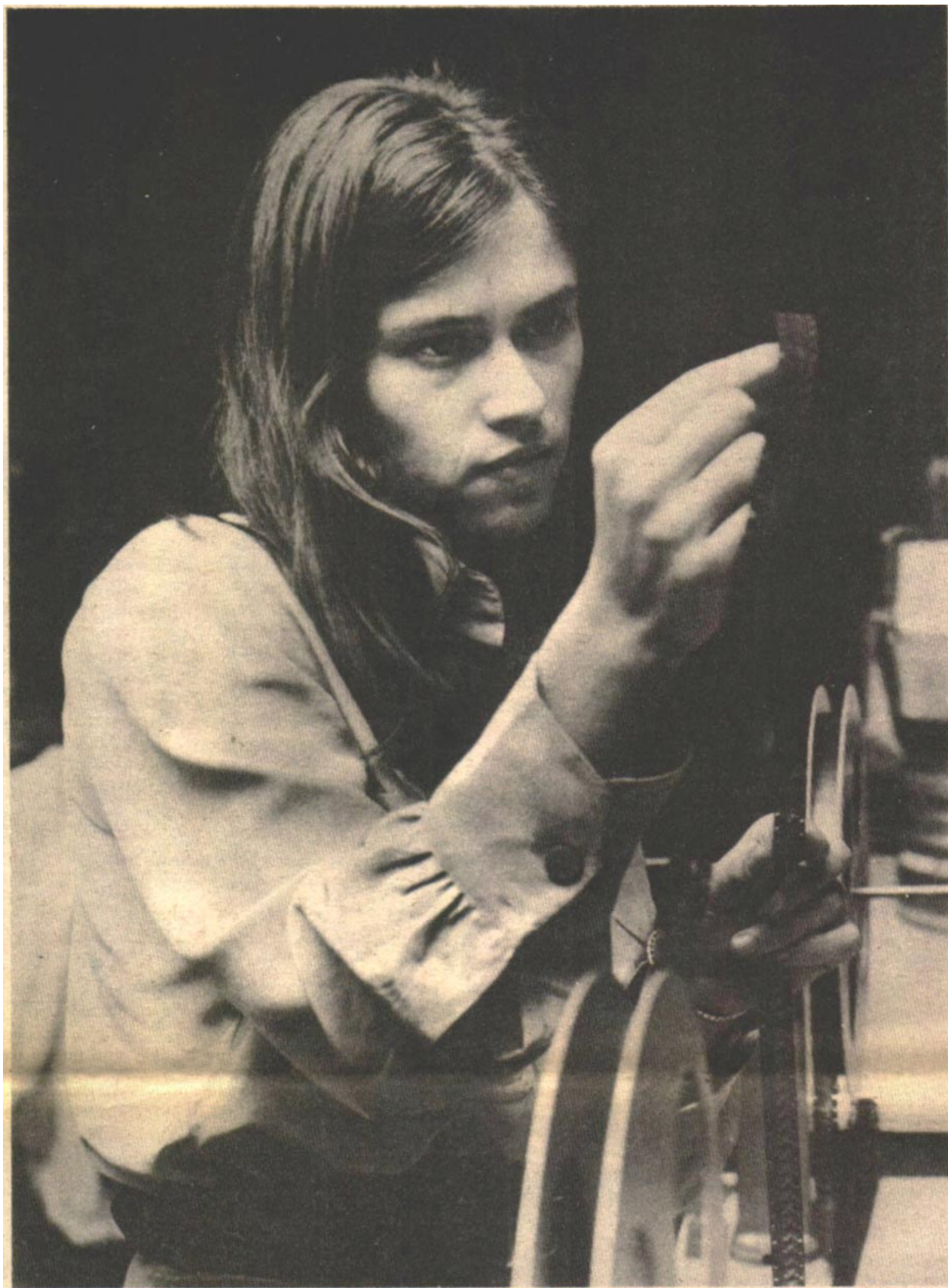
The only acceptable settlement right now is the immediate transfer of power.

►Abolish capitalism.

Majority rule is a political term and if majority rule were achieved right now, a lot of the economy would be in white hands—white Rhodesians and British and American capital. What about the Rhodesian economy?

This whole cry of "majority rule" is part of an attempt to consolidate power by the economic interests. Britain and the U.S. control the Rhodesian economy, and they want it to remain that way. They

Continued on page 20.



Kopple gets things done

"I read in a book on film technique that to operate a movie camera all you had to do was push a button. So I got an 8mm camera and pushed the button. I was hooked."

Barbara Kopple recently described in an exclusive *In These Times* interview the launching of her career as film producer and director. Ten years after pushing that first button she was presenting her first full length feature film, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* before enthusiastic audiences at the New York Film Festival of October 1976. Two months later *Harlan County* opened in a first-run commercial house in New York City. The woman really gets things done.

Kopple has made a film about miners by living with miners. She finds fact more dramatic than fiction, is interested in social change, how human beings are affected by that change and how they change themselves.

"I was a psychology major, working on a clinical project with lobotomized patients. It seemed like a good idea to make

a film in which they could participate—taking pictures and looking at each other in pictures. I was so delighted with the results and the patients' excitement that I was lost.

"I came to New York to learn how to make films. My first job was with the Masles brothers, working on *Salesman*. I did anything nobody else wanted to do—sweep floors, run errands. I was a film 'go-fer'.

"Then I learned how to take sound." Kopple was sound recordist on *Harlan County*.

►Recording the UMW.

"I spent about eight years learning—as assistant cameraman, film editor, everything—before *Harlan County*. Four years ago, when I was 26, I began doing a film about Miners for Democracy, a group in the United Mine Workers that was trying to take control away from the old leadership. That was Yablonski's crowd.

"Then he was murdered. I was filming in black lung clinics, meetings, trying to

get a record of the struggle going on in the UMW. It was intense.... We raised money here, there and everywhere to carry on with the work. I'd get friends to go out on shoots with me. Couldn't pay them much more than expenses....

"Finally Miller won and Tony Boyle had to step down. Then the miners of Brookside mine in Harlan County, Ky., wanted to join the UMW, so I went down there.

"That was when I really decided where I was going and what I had to do. I never stopped to wonder how I was going to do it. I went from one foundation to another to get money to keep the film going. If one of them wouldn't give me money, I'd go right on shooting and go back to them the following years. Sometimes they'd give then.

"When the Brookside mine went on strike, I moved down to Kentucky to stay for the duration."

►Staying in Harlan County.

That was 1973. For the 13 months that

the strike lasted, Kopple stayed in Harlan County, filming furiously.

"I was the only one who was there the whole time. After all, you can't ask other people to give up their lives and work for no money just because you believe in something. But people were wonderful. They came and stayed as long as they could. When I could raise money to pay them, I did.

"Foundations that had never given money for film, gave. Lots of individuals contributed, too. By the time we got through *Harlan County* cost \$200,000."

Kopple says the miners got so used to her and the crew that "they gave up noticing us. We were just part of the landscape." Which explains some of the really remarkable intimacy the film achieves.

When things began to get rough, miners and scabs alike began to carry guns. The film crew decided to follow suit. (Kopple has such a slight build one wonders how she wore a pistol in addition to her sound equipment.) But the filming went on.

"The day the miners were lined up with their guns out across the tops of the cars, and the strike breakers were coming through with their guns, my heart was beating so hard I thought it would beat its way right out of my chest. They were pointing their guns straight at us. But you keep the cameras rolling."

That sequence in the finished film will make a good many hearts beat very hard.

►Influence with New York Film Festival.

While the film was still in rough cut, she finally used a little influence to lean on the committee that decides what will be shown at the New York Film Festival. Very few "first" films are ever shown there; even fewer "fact films." And a feature length documentary? Too much.

When the judges did finally assemble for the screening, it was a good four minutes before they were caught up in the action. Two hours later they told the 30-year-old film maker that *Harlan County* was accepted for showing at the festival.

Then followed a time of intense pressure to get the film ready in time.

"I looked at the first finished print the day before it was to be shown to the public!"

Most of the critical opinion was enthusiastically favorable. But that by no means settled the problems of distribution to the public at large.

"I never thought of what I would do with the film when I was making it. I just knew this had become the most important thing in my life. So now I didn't want to

"The day the miners were lined up with their guns across the tops of the cars, and the strike breakers were coming through with their guns, my heart was beating so hard I thought it would beat its way right out of my chest. They were pointing their guns straight at us. But you keep the cameras rolling."

lose the impetus of the success at the festival. So I ran around trying to find a commercial distributor.

"Quite a few people wanted it, but they couldn't offer me any real money up front, and I needed the money badly. Time was running out.... I had raised \$170,000 to try and distribute the film myself. But then I realized that I had already devoted four years of my life to it. I want to get on to other subjects. Anyway, if a film is really good, it should get out there and have a life of its own."

►Own company for distribution, more production.

Kopple has formed a non-profit company to go on and make more films and to handle *Harlan County*. But she is still \$60,000 in debt, "and the interest on that is killing." She also owes film labs and optical houses for the blowing-up of the film from 16mm to 35mm.

"Cinema V offered me more money than anyone else, and they were also willing to give me some say in the kind of advertising to be done. I care too much not

to retain as much control as possible ... couldn't have *Harlan County* misrepresented. After all, it's the most important part of my life.

"Also I've reserved the film for 10 fund-raising events each year. Of course it's understood that I won't let those interfere with commercial showings. But we've already raised money for black lung clinics out in Ohio, and had a successful affair in Boston."

The most thrilling moment of Barbara Kopple's life so far was taking *Harlan County, U.S.A.* back to Harlan County, Ky., to show to the miners.

"The men who were strike breakers have formed a Ku Klux Klan chapter and they burned a goat in front of the hall where we were going to screen the film. This was just last month. We had to have two miners with guns guarding the door.

"It was a fantastic experience as the men and women relived those times. They sobbed and they laughed... It was a very emotional night."

When her debts are paid off, Kopple is going to put aside 10 percent of her own earnings from *Harlan County* in a fund to help other young film makers. Many, like her, have to get their start with the backing of a large company or wealthy relatives. Not all have her ability as an organizer and fund-raiser.

And after that, she wants to investigate—in a film, one hopes—what happened in the South in the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement. ■

Harlan County, USA: Still bloody and violent

HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.

Produced and directed by Barbara Kopple
Distributed by Cinema V.

Film is best when it is an affair of the heart. Barbara Kopple committed herself to the miners of Brookside coal mine in what used to be known as "bloody Harlan County." Through her artistry, the magic of her camera, you are there to see that it is bloody and violent still.

Kopple lives with the miners through the 13 months of their strike against Duke Power's mining company. She came to know them and be known by them. She takes you with her into the homes and lives of particular men and women (and the women are every bit as important as their men). For 103 minutes you are part of this small community in the Kentucky hills, laughing with its people—black and white, young and old—weeping with them, feeling terror when it strikes them.

It is an extraordinary experience. You will never feel the same about miners again.

Fact films aren't around much any more. They have never been popular in American theaters. It is increasingly difficult to find them on TV. And I don't think it's the fault of the "system." Documentaries are frequently dull, or, since the advent of "cinema verite" have a repugnant peeping-Tom quality.

There is something unpleasant about peering at peak moments of distress or lunacy in people about whom you know only that they are suffering. Barbara Kopple is no voyeur. She gives you plenty of time to know the folks of Cabin Creek. Time passes. You see them change. You are thoroughly intimate and involved before things start to pop. So you are the target when strikebreakers drive past with pistols and rifles aimed at the camera. When the shooting finally breaks out, it is as chilling as death.

Kopple's way of communicating with a camera is immediate and engulfing. From the opening action she is gathering you in. You see men with hard hats flinging themselves on their bellies onto a grey conveyer belt, running over closely-set steel rollers. Next thing you know the men are being inserted into a slit in the mountain side. They disappear. A moment later you are on the belt, following them into darkness. The noise and speed of that downhill trip are horrifying. You know that if you lift your head so much as five inches, it will be snapped off.

At the end of the journey an even greater horror is waiting: the monster machine that digs the coal in a pandemonium of sound, water and dust. Things have

changed underground since *How Green Was My Valley*.

Then there are the people: the black miner who says, "We go into the mines all different colors. We come out all one color. Can't tell us apart." Or the grand old lady who says, "My granddaddy was a miner. My daddy was a miner. My husband's layin' up there with the black lung. And I'm a union, right to my bones." She is, she confesses, too old to have a voice, but she's going to sing for us anyway. And Florence Reece creaks valiantly into "Which Side Are You On?"—her own composition—now considered "traditional"—written in Harlan County in 1931.

Kopple has too much respect for this

material to use it as many "actuality" film-makers do, as a springboard for a music-and-image trip. When her people sing, the camera stays on them. They are singing and that's all.

Harlan County, U.S.A. intertwines the history of the miners' struggle with the present. The older folk share their experience of the '30s with miners of the '70s. They warn them not to let it be like it was then, to stand up and fight for their rights, for union representation and a better chance to survive the dangers down in the dark.

Kopple is a responsible reporter as well as an exceptional film maker. Although she is obviously partial to the miners, she talks to the people of Duke Power. You listen to a company lawyer telling a meeting of mine operators that black lung has never been "incontrovertibly" linked to coal mining, and you are transported back to a time you may have thought long gone.

She even introduces you to the strikebreakers. It is a tribute to the trust the community had come to put in this young woman that she could get them to talk. Before the strikebreakers go into action, you have met and know Collins, their organizer, the Number One fink. You know just how mean he can be. And why.

It is a 360° experience.

Very rarely can a film maker spend the kind of time on a subject that Kopple did in *Harlan County, U.S.A.* It took her four years to complete the work, and it is worth it. But it is the tragedy of this medium that materials and tools for production are so costly. Raising the money must have taken almost as much skill and effort as producing the film.

It is our great gain that Barbara Kopple has turned up as dedicated as she is talented.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and is the regular film reviewer for *In These Times*.

"Which side are you on?"

Criticism of *Harlan County, U.S.A.* in the New York press has been strong—pro and con. Typical excerpts are the following:

• "...a fascinating and moving work. ... It is a brilliantly detailed report from one side of a battle that caused one death, several shootings and a flood of violent bitterness."

—New York Times

• "...an ineffectual mess, both as a movie and a social document ... like the cinematic ramblings of a somewhat indifferent tourist."

—New York Post

• "Beware of people like Barbara

Kopple ... [whose] manifestly righteous indignation prevents [them] from seeing both sides.... Don't mine owners have problems too? and families?"

—Alan Rich/*New York*

• "Will stir the hearts and minds of everyone who sees it."

—Kathleen Carroll/*Daily News*

• "Supercharged excitement, pulsates with drama."

—William Wolf/*Cue*

• "Succeeds magnificently."

—Janet Maslin/*Newsweek*

• "...not a total loss..."

—John Simon/*New York*

Women's Studies Assoc. meets

By Barbara Corrado Pope

More than 500 women came to the University of San Francisco Jan. 13-17 to found the National Women's Studies Association. The conference was marked by a sense of unity and sisterhood and an increasing confidence that the principles and practices of feminism could imbue a professional "studies" association.

Participants represented grade school teachers, community and women's center organizers, lesbians and third world women, as well as university and college teachers, students and clerical staff.

Conference organizers saw it as having two major functions: the writing of a constitution for the association and the sharing of information to encourage feminist studies "on every educational level and in every educational setting."

The constitution's preamble, written during the convention and passed by a resounding vote, captures the spirit of the meeting: "The uniqueness of women's studies has been its refusal to accept sterile divisions between academy and community, between the growth of the mind and the health of the body, between intellect and passion, between the individual and her society."

The preamble goes on to recognize that "women's studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women" and pledges the organization to helping create a "world free not only from sexism but also from racism, class bias, ageism, heterosexual bias—all the ideologies and institutions that have consciously or unconsciously oppressed and exploited some for the advantage of others."

It ends saying that women's studies "is equipping women not only to enter society as whole and productive human beings, but to transform it."

►Began a year ago.

The conference originated with a meeting of about 30 women in Philadelphia last March. They, in turn, encouraged and facilitated the founding of regional organizations that would reflect the diverse needs of all women. Among the founders were Florence Howe of Old Westbury in New York, Mary Louise Briscoe of the Univ. of Pittsburgh, and Sybil Weir of San Jose State Univ. in California, which sponsored the convention.

They also sent out the draft proposal for the constitution that was enlarged upon and radicalized during the course of the conference. This radicalization was "accepted beautifully" by the original planners, says Sally Dunn, a graduate student and teacher at the University of New Mexico.

The presence of men at conference ses-

sions and workshops arose as an early issue—there were at least three male delegates. A vote was taken, with about 70 women voting against their presence in workshops and plenary sessions, but men were allowed to remain.

►Third World women's demands.

Another issue was a set of 13 resolutions drawn up by the Third World Women's Caucus, composed of about 25 women. These resolutions asked for a guarantee

of national and regional representation and travel stipends for low-income women and pledged unity with the other women in the organization.

There was overwhelming support for the inclusion of the intent of the resolutions into the constitution, as well as for giving the caucus veto power over the final draft of the constitution.

Sylvia Gonzales of the Mexican-American program of San Jose State emphasized that the caucus would exercise

the veto in good faith and that they had demanded such powers "only because of bad past experiences."

The caucus asked for spots on the coordinating committee for each of the four major groups it represents (Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans and Black Americans). Similarly, caucuses representing lesbians and clerical staff also asked for seats.

All of these demands were sanctioned by the convention, although the second and third met with stronger opposition. Joanne Casto, a fourth grade teacher from Ashford, Wash., opposed the measure for lesbian representation, commenting that it would be difficult to push an organization in the public grade schools that so strongly supported lesbianism.

The passage of these motions, however, reflected the understanding, put forth by Chris Bose of the Univ. of Washington, that these groups could only be properly represented if they had full accountability and full visibility within the organization at large.

►Information sharing workshops.

The second purpose of the convention—the sharing of information—was carried out in the workshops. Among the subjects covered were action programs to combat math avoidance, vocational options for women's studies students, lesbian resources and racism. There were also sessions covering the needs of traditional educational settings from the grade schools through graduate programs.

The best attended workshop may have been the overview of women's studies in the schools. This session included a preliminary report by Florence Howe of a study of 15 women's studies programs being carried out under a federal grant. Susan Groves of the Berkeley Unified Public School System also reported on her committee's work against sexism and racism.

Collectively written strategy papers were read at this session by Lillian Robinson of the Univ. of Buffalo and Susan Brown of Boston Univ. Both papers insisted that women's studies programs in the universities must be responsible to the women's community and liberation movement.

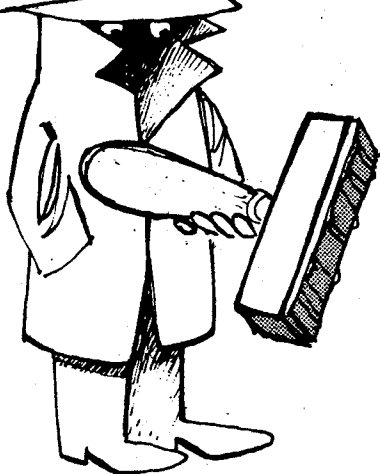
Although university and college women predominated at the meeting, the workshops were especially helpful for those teaching in the more isolated areas of women's studies. Joanne Casto, for instance, says that the most important part of this convention for her was meeting women across the country who were also working in the grade schools and setting up lines of communication with them.

Barbara Corrado Pope teaches Women's Studies at the University of Oregon



Women's studies "is equipping women not only to enter society as whole and productive human beings, but to transform it."

Classified



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In These Times t-shirts for sale: \$5.00, five for \$20.00. Don't delay folks, we're sure they'll disappear fast. Specify S, M, L, XL.

Senator Plunkitt is a straight organization man. He believes in party government; he does not indulge in cant and hypocrisy and he is never afraid to say exactly what he thinks. He is a believer in thorough political organization and all-the-year-around work, and he holds to the doctrine that, in making appointments to office, party workers should be preferred if they are fitted to perform the duties of the office. Plunkitt is one of the veteran leaders of the organization; he has always been faithful and reliable, and he has valuable services for Tammany Hall.

ALBUM

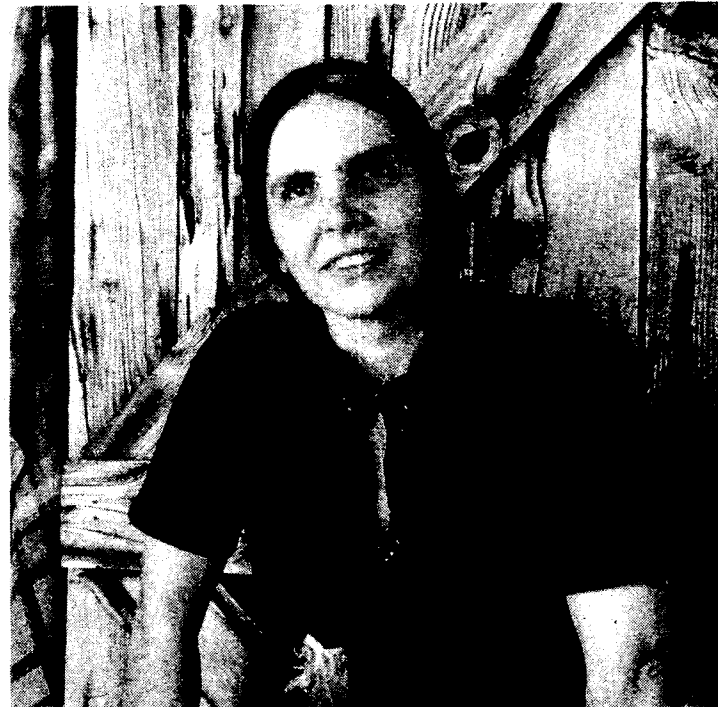
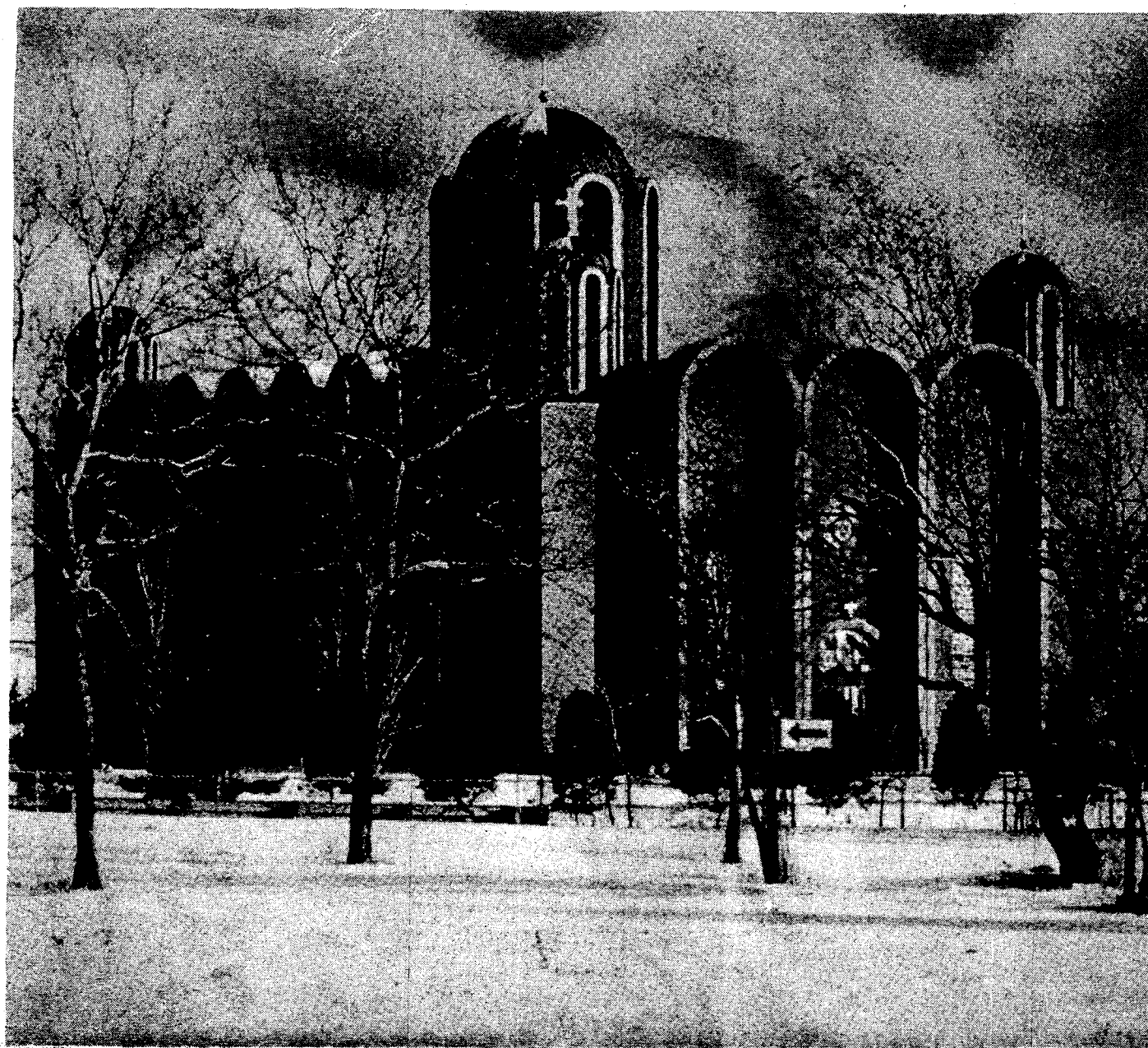


Photo by Alta Fly

Christians for socialism



Do the teachings of Christ point to socialism?

Photo by Jane Melnick

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

"Religion," Karl Marx once said, "is the opiate of the people." Mainstream religious leaders since Marx have had far less flattering things to say about socialism. So at first glance American Christians Toward Socialism (ACTS) seems an unlikely group. And it seems even more unlikely that it is part of a world-wide network known as Christians for Socialism, whose purpose is changing Christianity into a revolutionary force.

The movement began in Chile, where there had been a tradition of socially-oriented church involvement in the government under the Christian Democratic administration of Eduardo Frei. When Salvador Allende's Marxist-led coalition was elected, the response of the church hierarchy was opposition. But many priests and nuns who ministered to poor and working people had learned through reform work that only a socialist society could really help their parishioners. These clergy joined with other Catholic activists and formed Christians for Socialism, which actively supported Allende's government and publicly tried to persuade the

Catholic church to do likewise.

When Allende's government was overthrown by military coup, over a hundred members of the group were thrown in prison, many to face torture and death. Others escaped and are working with Christian Socialist groups that have sprung up in many countries in this hemisphere as well as Europe and Asia.

ACTS is, as Joseph Holland of Washington D.C.'s Center for Concern describes it, "small, weak and humble." But he thinks "it's ringing a lot of bells for people."

► Remain legitimate Christians.

Like its counterparts in other countries, ACTS does not stand outside of various Christian churches. Members remain in the churches, struggling to make them forces for revolutionary change.

In Spain, Christians for Socialism called upon the Catholic church to confess its sins during the period of fascist dictatorship under Franco.

In the U.S., says Kathleen Schultz, national executive secretary of the group, ACTS will try to get churches to repent of the past and establish a new kind of

revolutionary practice. Once ACTS establishes a presence, they intend to struggle against being marginalized by the hierarchy here," she says.

According to ACTS, ideological forces—like religion and mass media—play an even stronger role in keeping working people in support of the status quo. If religion can become a force for revolution, a powerful tool of the ruling class will be gone.

"We challenge the interclassism of the church," says Schultz. Christian love, she says, has been used to defend the idea that, for example, "Detroit's unemployed and Henry Ford and Max Fisher can sit down and have a good time. This obscures class differences in the name of peace, charity, gospel and faith."

► Is God a Marxist?

Most ACTS chapters run study groups, have educational events or celebrations that involve people in religious study from a Marxist viewpoint. "Is God a Marxist?" was the title of a recent Bay Area workshop. Many of their larger counterparts in other countries do the same. Christian socialists in Italy run over 16,000 Bible study groups.

"When I first heard that," says Kathleen Schultz, "I thought, my God, what are political Christians doing trying to mobilize people with Bible study? But the political situation there makes the difference, the interpretation of scripture is radicalizing."

Like their counterparts elsewhere, members of ACTS don't form a separate party, but join other parties and organizations. That makes the situation somewhat more difficult in the U.S. than in countries like Italy where Christians for Socialism thrives in the context of a well-organized left.

"It's unclear where people's and workers' movements and left organizations are at this time," says Schultz. "There's no clear strategy for the left as a whole—

not even an instrumentality for finding that."

► A new theology.

The Christian socialist movement has its own theologians and theology—a theory of liberation, they call it. German-born theologian Dorothy Solle describes how Christianity, practiced right, leads to Marxism: If you love your neighbor and pay attention to your own experiences, "you want to understand the cause of your neighbor's misery, and to bring about changes. The person who is genuinely compassionate will eventually hit granite—the structures of property and society, the injustice inherent in the class system. When such a new phase has been reached, it is high time to read Karl Marx."

This new theology holds that Christianity has been robbed of its revolutionary message by too long an association with the capitalist class. Theologians of liberation, like Solle or Chilean exile Gonzalo Arroyo, believe they are recapturing Christ's basic message and that Marxism provides a scientific method for putting the gospel into practice.

In this view, Christianity is actually a liberating and democratic belief system that is inherently socialist, but the proper interpretation of the scriptures hasn't been done because it would offend the powerful.

Liberation theology has its conservative critics. Catholic columnist Michael Novak calls it "a fad which should be resisted." His colleague Andrew Greeley calls liberation theologians "hate-filled people, shouting about guilt and calling for expiation."

Theologians of liberation believe there will be a need for religion under socialism. Just as Marx predicted about the state, they believe religion will only wither away as society approaches pure communism, when the community is truly functioning "from each according to his/her ability, to each according to his/her needs." Until then, the church will play a role, but it will be, according to Gonzalo Arroyo, "a poorer church deprived and divested of privilege, and also a church less institutionalized." Such a church would "incarnate new forms of Christian life which reject the alienating patterns of living the faith often present in capitalist societies."

► Many members in clergy.

Many ACTS members are clergy. In Iowa a group of Methodist ministers, mostly in small-town parishes, form a chapter. Do they preach socialism from the pulpit? Yes, and at least one has been demoted to a smaller, more rural parish for doing so. They also publish a sort of sermon service for other Methodist ministers. One, an Advent sermon, made a parallel between the need for repentance before the birth of Jesus with the need of the U.S. government to repent of its sins in the Third World.

Lee Cormie, a Chicago ACTS member and a theology teacher, says he began moving away from religion when religious answers to social problems seemed irrelevant. "And yet, my concern with social issues came out of my religious tradition. So Christians for Socialism has been a way to recover that tradition, to be more true to it," he said.

"The thing that attracted me," says Marcia Cormie, also of Chicago ACTS, "was that the people were not just working out a political analysis. They were also willing to reflect on the process that made them willing to engage in struggle."

"The three main elements, action, reflection and celebration, are all important. It's a group that takes celebration seriously, as something that keeps people going, so they don't give up when they get frustrated."

"And it's not like some left groups, trying to shove a message down people's throat," she continued. "It's a group of people working together to find ways to tap into people's religious tradition, and show that socialism does not contradict that tradition."



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A Film By
Rick King

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILMS

Ten best films of '76: No consensus

In These Times has conducted a poll of our staff and some of our film reviewers to determine what the Motion Picture Academy ought to honor in its annual Oscar orgy.

The results are correlated below, but some explanations seem necessary. First, several of those polled had not seen 10 films in 1976. Some who had seen 10 or more do their viewing on the late-night TV screen, so a number of their choices are from years 1939 et seq.

The reviewers, two of whom are in New York, have seen a different crop of films, and the results of their poll are so different that they are published separately. Also, our reviewer of children's books, Karen Morrill, decided to poll the children in her school, and their choices were so interesting that we are also including them.

We suggest that a comparison of the "best" and the "worst" list with the choices of critics and children will lead to some interesting conclusions about consensus and what it is worth.

Best movies of 1976

1. *The Front*
2. *All the President's Men*
3. *Cousin Cousine*
Ringo Long and his Traveling All Stars
4. *Bad News Bears*
Small Changes
Stay Hungry
5. *Union Maids*
Won Ton Ton, the Dog That Saved Hollywood
Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000
Silent Movie
Rocky
The Man Who Would Be King
6. *The Shootist*
Let's Do It Again
Taxi Driver
Let the Good Times Roll

Also mentioned (but too old to count)

Modern Times
Citizen Kane
Grand Illusion
Salt of the Earth
400 Blows
Seduction of Mimi
Love and Anarchy
Swept Away

Worst movies of 1976

Taxi Driver
The Omen
Swept Away
Bugsy Malone

Critic's Choices

U.S. made:
All the President's Men
Seven Per Cent Solution
The Front
Runners-up:
Bad News Bears
Bound for Glory
Carrie
Robin and Marian
Union Maids
The Omen
The Man Who Fell to Earth

Foreign films:
Cousin Cousine (French)
Small Changes (French)
Runners-up:
Seven beauties (Italian)
Memory of Justice (French/German)
The Clockmaker (French)
The Marquise of O. (French)

Four alternative films, U.S., French and West German, not shown outside of New York City, were also mentioned.

Children's List (6 to 10-year-olds)

1. *Bad News Bears*
2. *Small Changes*
3. *Silent Movie*
4. *Pink Panther*



5. *Let's Do It Again*
6. *Bugsy Malone*
7. *King Kong*
8. *Bingo Long and His Traveling All Stars*
9. *Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother*
10. *Car Wash*

N.B. The younger children (6 and 7-year-olds) also mentioned two

Walt Disney films, *The Shaggy D.A.* and *Nome Mobile*, and *Earthquake, Jaws, Boys' Town* and *Snow White and the Three Stooges*.

BOOKS

Although I haven't taken an oath on it, I have been trying to confine myself to reviewing for *In These Times* books which appear on the best-seller lists in the belief that even the worst choices Americans make tell us something interesting about the state of our culture.

Along with my list of the best fiction of 1976, I will take the liberty of including some obscure but wonderful volumes that gave me pleasure and pause. So this is in part a worst-seller list.

Family Feeling, by Helen Yglesias, Dial, \$8.95.

Domestic Particulars, by Frederick Busch, New Directions Paperback, \$3.95

The Easter Parade, by Richard Yates, Delacorte, \$7.95

The Family Arsenal, by Paul Theroux, Houghton Mifflin, \$8.95

(These novels I reviewed briefly in the Jan. 5 issue of *In These Times*.)

October Light, by John Gardner, A.A. Knopf, \$10 (reviewed in *In These Times*, Jan. 19, 1977)

A worst seller list for '76: Fiction, biography, poetry

This one won the National Book Critics Circle award for the best fiction book of 1976.

Sitting Pretty, by Al Young, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$7.95 The first-person narration of a middle-aged black man from Palo Alto, who speaks in a gently persuasive, slightly jivey fashion about the troubles and pleasures he's seen.

The Autumn of the Patriarch, by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Harper & Row, \$10. Garcia Marquez's new novel adds lustre to the already enormous reputation he has acquired since the publication of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. This one portrays the monstrous life and enigmatic death of a Methusalem-like Latin American dictator, both from

his own point of view and the multiple perspectives of his murderous henchmen and down-trodden subjects.

Three other translations go on my list, one of them written long before 1976. *The Birth of the Automobile* by Ilya Ehrenburg, Urizen Books Paperback, \$4.95, was originally published in 1929, but has only just been translated into English. It is a witty critical attempt to apply to the growth of the auto industry in Europe and America the technique of fusing history and fiction that has recently given *Ragtime* such a large audience.

Tadeusz Borowski, the Polish fiction writer who spent two years in Auschwitz, committed

suicide in Warsaw over 20 years ago. Penguin Books has issued an American edition of his concentration camp stories, titled *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, \$2.95. The horror of the camps has never been portrayed with such a masterful combination of objectivity and passion.

Solaris, by the Polish novelist Stanislaw Lem, Berkeley Paperback, \$1.50, is one of the most interesting novels of ideas of recent decades. You may have to dig around in the science-fiction sections of a large book store to find it, but it is worth the effort.

That makes ten books of fiction. In the non-fiction category I have a top two:

Roots, by Alex Haley, Doubleday, \$12.50, and

Scoundrel Time, by Lillian Hellman, Little, Brown, \$7.95.

And two books of poetry:

The Names of the Lost, by Philip Levine, Atheneum. Forceful lyrics on figures and incidents from the Spanish Civil War; nominated for the National Book Critics Circle award in poetry.

Sadness and Happiness, by Robert Pinsky, Princeton, \$2.50, offers accessible lyrics on what it feels like to be young and middle class in a disintegrating society, as well as several long poems in which plain speech and commonplace activities—tennis and psychoanalysis—show us a great deal more about ourselves than we might like to admit.

And after you catch up with some of these, read Pablo Neruda's *Memoirs*, coming next month from Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. And begin again.

—Alan Cheuse

Alan Cheuse teaches English at Bennington College and reviews fiction regularly for *In These Times*.

BOOKS

A poet remembers her loves

A WORLD OF LIGHT

by May Sarton

W.H. Norton, N.Y., 1976, \$8.95

One's sixties are a time for remembering and evaluating, more so for poets perhaps than for others, since the poet's own experience and emotion are the material with which he or she works.

May Sarton is one of America's leading poets—as well as a distinguished novelist and essayist—and over the last 20 years she has given us three volumes of autobiography: *I Knew a Phoenix*, *Plant Dreaming Deep* and *Journal of a Solitude*. Her latest book, *A World of Light*, fills in some of the chinks between those recorded experiences.

It is a collection of 12 portraits and "celebrations" of the people who have most influenced her. But the chapters are so interwoven with her own development as a human being and an artist that they also create a kind of self-portrait.

Sarton, who never admitted her lesbianism while her parents were alive, has chosen to write only about those she loved who are dead and cannot be hurt. This leaves some exasperating gaps in the personal world she is describing. But in general the plan has worked well. She can assess her people—their faults and failures as well as their talents and endearing qualities—with honesty that is only possible when a relation is closed and complete.

Sarton aficionados may be moved to reread one of her previous books after a first reading of this one. This study of her parents, for instance, may send some people back to *I Knew a Phoenix*. Other may turn to *The*



May Sarton

Bridge of Years or *The Single Hound*, or *Mrs. Stevens Hears the Mermaids Singing* for more insight into Celine Limbosch, or Jean Dominique, or Edith Forbes Kennedy and Marc, the Vignon. Other chapters will send readers back to the letters and journals of Katherine Mansfield and D.H. Lawrence, or the poetical works of Louise Bogan and the prose of Elizabeth Bowen.

But more important, the echoes of Sarton's own poetry throughout the book will move readers to read or reread her *Col-*

lected Poems (Norton, 1974).

A World of Light is an evocative book that awakens memories of times and places through which its subjects move. It is a good introduction to one of America's major writers to those who have not read the body of her work; a must for those who have.

—Valerie Taylor

Valerie Taylor is a published poet whose work was reviewed in *In These Times*, Dec. 20, 1976.

POETRY

New York poets call *Review* racist, sexist

The *American Poetry Review* is the country's leading publication in its field, if one is to judge by circulation, impact on the art and the exceptional support provided by Federal funds.

Last week *APR*'s editor-at-large, David Ignatow (who is also the recipient of this year's Bollingen Prize for Poetry), announced that he was resigning his post for reasons that "go to the root of [its] literary decline ... from its original prospectus—to encompass and to advance the cause of American poetry in its most varied and vigorous forms, in the Whitman spirit of the free embrace of life and art."

At the same time a group of more than 50 New York poets—young and old, beginners and established poets, male and female, black, white, Asian and Hispanic Americans—published a statement on the editorial policy of the *American Poetry Review* that charges that the policy is racist and sexist and "shocking in its gross consistency."

According to the statement, an analysis of 23 issues of *APR* with a total of 648 individual contributions, turned up "only 19 contributions by black, minority, or third world writers." "Moreover," the statement continues, "in the five years of *APR*'s existence, the editors chose to publish the poetry of only one Afro-American writer," and the magazine's record with regard to Asian, Hispanic and Native Americans is equally dismal.

Of the 628 contributions only 116 were by women. Almost four times as many men as women were published. The group also notes the *Review*'s reluctance to publish women poets whose work emerges directly from female experience, including lesbian exper-

ience. "In general, the *APR* tends heavily toward the established and away from the new/the unknown," they say.

Spokespeople for the New York group summarized their views in this way: "We do not accept that there is an antithesis between social justice and excellence of any sort. We argue for an implacable commitment to excellence and to the varieties of American artists. It is depressing to acknowledge that some people believe that the passion for social justice is inimical to the passion for beauty and for grace and for the truth. We judge such a tenet to be indefensible."

The statement concludes with four demands that would rectify this history of neglect, disregard, and aesthetic suffocation:

"1. Representation: That a serious and continuing attempt, and clear and continuing evidence of such attempt, be made so that a proportional number of highest quality men, women and minority poets shall be published in the pages of *The American Poetry Review*."

"2. Small presses: Since *APR* received federal funds as a member of the small press community, it must visibly and with regularity represent the activities and offerings of that community."

"3. Revolving editors: That a revolving editor be assigned to each issue from one of the female and/or minority poetic communities, who will be asked to choose, at his/her discretion, poems for at least one-third of the total space devoted to poetry, per se."

"4. Young writers: That *APR* consistently publish and review work by young, beginning writers."

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BOOKS

How socialism worked in U.S.

...When more than 1,200 held municipal office...

SOCIALISM AND THE CITIES

Edited by Bruce M. Stave
Kennikat Press, 1975, \$13.50

This collection of historical studies of Socialist party administrations in the U.S. should be read by all who are debating the problem of how to connect rank and file organizing with electoral politics today.

The period covered begins with the elections of Socialists to office in Milwaukee in 1910; and then in Schenectady, N.Y., in Passaic, N.J., and in Bridgeport, Conn. Each of the essays has new and valuable information of some aspect of that experience.

Possibly the most startling contribution—at least to those who remember Walter Lippman only in his pontifical years—is his letter of resignation as Executive Secretary to the Socialist mayor of Schenectady. The issues Lippman raises as criticisms of the electoral policies of the Socialist party in 1913 are still central to the building of a socialist movement in the U.S. and still plague us.

Writing at a time when more than 1,000 Socialists held municipal office, Lippman warns that elected officials are only as powerful as the constituencies they represent. "The great danger is to have the externals of power and none of the substance."

"Our greatest task, to which politics is entirely subordinate, is the organization of labor so that it understands its possibilities and learns how to apply the power it possesses.... This is the first work of the Socialist movement. If it is well done, our political action will reflect it. If it is neglected, no amount of fuss over the size of our vote will cover it up."

Or, hear him on how to link immediate demands to socialist objectives: "Take the municipal ownership ... of subways. We believe in it, and we should welcome it.... But we do not stop there.... It is our business to draw the distinction between the reformer's policy and ours.... Reformers propose to use the profits to reduce taxes; Socialists pro-

pose to spend the profits socially ... [to] pay for things that the people need.... Municipal ownership is a reform we endorse; Socialist municipal ownership is what we demand."

And finally, on the question of dogmatism: "A man standing on a soapbox has to be cocksure. But about the tactics of a revolutionary movement only a fool is convinced that his is the last word."

An essay that has particular relevance for readers and staff of a socialist newspaper is James R. Green's "The Salesmen-Soldiers of the Appeal Army." Analyzing the influence of *The Appeal to Reason*, the weekly newspaper for which Eugene V. Debs wrote, Green emphasizes the contribution of 495 activists, part of the 80,000 "salesman-soldier" brigade that traveled around the country selling the paper, organizing study groups and setting up Socialist party locals. "The effectiveness of [the] weekly," Green concludes, "depended as much upon its salesmen as it did upon its editors."

Socialism and the Cities is important working-class history. Each of the essays merits its own review. Space permits only a listing here.

Sally M. Miller describes the German-born American workers of Milwaukee, whose "class consciousness, not characteristic of native Americans" provided the power that built the Federated Trades Councils and the Socialist party there.

Kenneth H. Hendrikson Jr. describes the internal struggles between right and left in the S.P. of Schenectady. Aaron Burbank writes about the experience in Oklahoma City, where the fight against "bread and butter unionism" merged with the building of the S.P.

Editor Bruce M. Stave has a chapter on Socialist mayor Jasper McLevy (of Bridgeport) and his "fiscally conservative socialism." Michael Ebner reports on Passaic, where structural "reforms" were used to disperse working-class electoral strength. And William C. Pratt's chapter on Jimmy Higginses (rank-and-file activists) shows the complete cultural life provided to the membership at this time.

—Dorothy Ray Healey

Dorothy Healey was formerly on the National Executive Committee of the C.P. U.S.A. She is presently a member of the National Interim Committee of the New American Movement.

Moynihan Report gets coup de grace from Gutman's *Black Family*

BLAMING THE VICTIM (revised, updated edition)
By William Ryan

Vintage, 1976, \$2.45 (paperback)

THE BLACK FAMILY IN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM, 1750-1925

By Herbert G. Gutman
Pantheon, 1976, \$15.95

It is no small irony that William Ryan's *Blaming the Victim* was re-released the same year that Pat Moynihan was elected Senator from New York. Moynihan,

a Ph.D. and professor from Harvard, first reached national attention in 1965 when he authored a government report on the black family, which singled out "the deterioration of the Negro family" as the chief cause of "the tangle of pathology" engulfing Afro-American life. Moynihan argued that the allegedly weak, disorganized black family developed out of a matrifocal (mother-centered) culture and a pattern of family breakup caused by slavery.

To Ryan, this explanation serves as a classic example of the "blaming the victim" thesis: "justifying inequality by finding defects in the victims of inequality." Moynihan either ignores or downplays issues of class, power and institutional racism, calling on blacks to "heal thyself." If he had looked at urban black and white families at identical income levels, he would have discovered that the groups have nearly similar rates of "male-absent households." He would then have had to focus on structural questions about the economy like unemployment, low wages and poverty.

Ryan systematically exposes the same victim-blaming ideology in commonly held views on education, health, housing and criminal justice. The Coleman Report, for example, is subjected to the same critical attention. James Coleman, another Ph.D. not as yet a Senator, is faulted for blaming low school achievement on poor children, black children and their families. The school is exonerated and the surrounding social system is not examined. The concepts of "culture of poverty" and "cultural deprivation" are code words of liberal victim-blaming. Ryan also attacks Edward C. Banfield, a leading victim blamer, for his *The Unheavenly City*. In this book, Banfield urges us not to fret so much about the poor because it is fruitless to try to raise the lower classes from their squalid way of life, since we are dealing with people who would live in squalor and misery even if their incomes were doubled or tripled."

American ruling elites eagerly accept these cultural misinterpretations and reward their adherents. Note Moynihan's high government posts in both Democratic and Republican administrations; Banfield's chairmanship of President Nixon's Advisory Committee on Model Cities; Coleman's appearance before the Massachusetts Legislature and the wide press coverage accorded him since he began pushing his latest anti-busing "white flight" thesis.

The new introduction and appendix to this edition of *Blaming the Victim* brings us up to date on all the areas he covers, including recent Jensen and Herrnstein gen-

etic version of victim-blaming. It's unfortunate that Ryan chose not to integrate the new material into the body of the book. But the basic analysis remains as vital as it was when it was first published six years ago.

Although Ryan and other critics have been punching holes in the Moynihan Report for years, it may have received its coup de grace in a long, scholarly work by historian Herbert Gutman. In *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* Gutman examines U.S. census records, plantation record books, marriage applications, slave letters, and testimony to government officials. Not only does he find that the two parent family was the statistical norm among slaves, but also that it was an integral part of Afro-American culture, and one which the slaves went to great lengths to preserve. Despite the violence of slavery and the oppression of the post-slavery period, the black family "did not disintegrate following emancipation, and it did not disintegrate as a consequence of the great migration to northern cities prior to 1930."

Afro-American slave culture strongly supported long and stable marriages, extensive kin networks, marital fidelity, and naming practices reflective of the key role of family descent. Black Americans created that culture out of their African past and American slave experience and did not simply absorb it from white society.

Gutman, a fluent and compassionate writer, reaches the conclusion that lower classes and oppressed groups possess a way of life, a culture, which allows them to fight and to adapt, to survive and to grow, even in the face of severe constraints. Moynihan, who starts with a view of black Americans as a *problem* to be explained, or explained away, is never able to approach the depths of Gutman's analysis.

Interestingly, Gutman cites Moynihan as one of a group of people who read part of his book in pre-publication form. Perhaps Moynihan learned something. Perhaps.

—Maynard Seider

Maynard Seider is a sociologist, presently living in Massachusetts.

MUSIC

1976 music: the major key is detachment

1976's popular music was for the most part unremarkable. No music explosion occurred this past year, nothing that startled recognition and plunged us forward the way the best music of the '60s often did. The music—most often jazz—that is continuing on the path of technological experimentation and refinement is no longer aimed at shaking us up. Instead it's helping us cope. It says: be cool; there's comfort to be found in detachment. But this trend isn't the only one around. It's balanced by the survival of the folk-talk-rock tradition, which insists on the centrality of human experience in narrative lyrics that often overpower the musical accompaniment.

The quintessential example of the new music to cope by is *Romantic Warrior* by Return to Forever. There are few musicians

around better than the members of this quartet: Chick Corea on keyboards; Stanley Clarke, bass; Lenny White, percussion; Al Di Meola, guitar. They utilize a full variety of instruments, both acoustic and electric. Corea alone plays acoustic piano, Fender Rhodes, Honer Clavinet, Mini Moog, Moog 15, Micro Mini Moog, ARP Odyssey, Yamaha organ and Polymoog. If you find this slightly mystifying, you'll probably find the music equally esoteric. The multitude of electronic sounds serves to mask the relationship between individual sounds and the instruments that make them, creating an otherworldly and mysteriously inhuman perfection. This is enhanced by the minutely orchestrated arrangements used. The definitiveness of the orchestral arrangements became obvious to

The music ... is no longer aimed at shaking us up. Instead it's helping us cope.

me when I heard the group in concert, where they repeated the album note for note, without a hint of departure from the original.

Overall, *Romantic Warrior* appears a curiously passive reworking of the small-group jazz tradition, which, epitomized in the "jam session," originally emphasized individual spontaneity within a collective musical framework. *Romantic Warrior* offers instead the illusion of escape from the mundane world (em-

phasized by titles like "Medieval Overture" and "The Magician") while replicating the technological and organizational rigidities that keep our everyday lives mundane.

At the opposite end of the musical spectrum are Bob Dylan's *Hard Rain* and Jackson Browne's *The Pretender*. This music is technically crude, but emotionally complex. Although Jackson Browne, at 28, may be too young to speak with full authority on all of his subjects (death, suicide, parenting, the decline of the '60s counterculture), his seriousness carries him a long way. His songs, like Dylan's, document the human power to survive. I can say about him what I can say about no other musician except Dylan: I look forward to growing old with him.

The form of Dylan's music, as well as the content, is an assault against technological supremacy. Dylan's flat vocal delivery, his uncomplicated guitarwork, the fact that his back-up group seems to be learning the music as they're recording, and the poor quality of the "live" recording all deny the equation between technological finesse and musicianship. More importantly, by deliberately remaking old material (none of *Hard Rain* is in a strict sense new), Dylan denies any worshipful relation to his own past recordings—thereby beginning to break down the relationship between "song" as a human activity and "song" as a technological product.

—Kent Jacobson

Kent Jacobson teaches American Studies and film at the Univ. of Montana.

"Zimbabwe is the key"

Continued from page 11.

want it to remain in the control of the whites. So you can see that one of the troubles with majority rule is that you have to have an acceptable government in the country which would appease blacks and leave the system as it is today.

And what is the alternative you want?

The alternative we want is both political control by blacks and economic control by blacks. We are not just after political control. We are not just after having Robert Mugabe be the leader of Zimbabwe. We are also concerned with our people.

Our people want their land back. Right now they have been deprived of their land. The very best land in Zimbabwe has been taken away from them. This must be restored.

Having done that, we have to restore the resources of the country. The natural resources should also be under the control of the Zimbabwe people.

And the resources must be distributed as equally as possible.

So what you are really calling for is an end to private ownership?

Yes, there definitely has to be a social change. Simply put, we would like to abolish the capitalist institutions. In Zimbabwe today, a negligible number of people benefit from this system.

► **Zimbabwe is the key.**

Do you expect that Smith's strategy now is going to be to work out a deal with Abel Muzorewa or one of the other leaders?

That is what he has said.

What do you expect to come of that?

My own view is that is something that will not work. He has to talk to people with power. It has to be a settlement between the two powers. We have two forces in Zimbabwe. There are the liberated forces and there is the ruling white government. It is a question of who is going to rule. If there is no agreement between

these two forces, the fighting is going to continue.

What about southern Africa itself and South Africa? What are the prospects for the liberation movement there?

Zimbabwe at the moment is the key. With radical governments in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, and possibly in Namibia, we can expect Zambia and Botswana will be radicalized, so that the process of change will be accelerated.

In South Africa, that being the last bastion of Western interests, they are going to sustain it. The most important thing is that the black people will have gained so much revolutionary consciousness that we can expect a change, probably sooner than we think.

But I can't predict a time. Such a situation is difficult. ■

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IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Why does Carter fancy Vance?

By William Burr

President Carter has indicated that Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance will not be the star that Henry Kissinger was. Yet Carter has already suggested that there will be no abrupt change in foreign policy goals under his administration. The objective, as before, will be to preserve the global-investment-for-profit system.

But diplomatic method will change. There will be much less of the unilateral decision making that caused both irritation among the U.S.'s industrial allies and consternation among the "Atlanticists" in America's foreign policy establishment. The Vance State Department will also discard Kissinger's excessive penchant for secrecy in favor of broader discussions among America's rulers.

Carter seems to have chosen Vance because he can work as part of a "national security team" designated to formulate and implement an integrated political-economic diplomacy. President Ford put two head-strong men in the State and the Treasury Departments, and they could not cooperate in developing comprehensive programs for sustained capitalist expansion. Kissinger and William Simon clashed over such far-reaching issues as commodity-agreements and foreign aid. But Carter has ensured State-Treasury cooperation by staffing them with men who have already worked closely together in private policy-planning circles.

Like other high-ranking members of the American corporate directorate, Vance is discrete and cautious. Having never held an elected office, he has had to state his personal views only among his associates in the national security apparatus and in the corporate boardrooms. We know something about Vance's activity over the past 20 years, but almost nothing about his most deeply held convictions on society and the world that he helps manage. But there is enough information in public record to understand why Carter thinks that Vance will meet his requirements.

►A corporate lawyer.

Like most Secretaries of State during the 20th century, Vance is a corporate lawyer, which explains a lot about the man. The American corporate system is peculiarly a creature of the law. Lawyers played a crucial role in providing the Mor-

gans, Stillmans, Rockefellers and other early corporate leaders with the tools needed to elaborate, codify and institutionalize the corporate form of business organization. In representing a diverse range of propertied interests, highly placed corporate lawyers now function as business statesmen, framing broad programs addressed to the needs of corporate capitalism. Secretaries of State Elihu Root, Philander C. Knox, Robert Lansing, Henry Stimson, Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles were corporate lawyers. Each helped to devise the legal and political network holding together and sustaining the international capitalist system.

Vance's own social origins informed the view of society that he had to develop as he became one of its managers. Born in a well-to-do and politically influential West Virginia family, he early had instilled in him a sense of class responsibility and an interest in the law. Vance's secondary education at the Kent School in Connecticut was, no doubt, a formative socializing experience. Such schools as Kent, Groton and St. Paul's have, since the 1890s, helped rear a homogeneous upper class leadership.

A BA degree in economics and a Yale law degree brought Vance, during the late '40s, to the prestigious Wall Street firm of Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett. This gave Vance corporate connections and opened the way to participation in public life. Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett, like other big firms on the 'street,' encourages its members to be active in professional and political affairs. One serves as a U.S. Senator (Clifford Case), another has been president of the American Bar Association (Whitney N. Seymour), another the author of a study on youth and narcotics (Whitney N. Seymour Jr.).

Vance scrupulously followed such examples. By the late 1950s he was known as one of New York's most able corporate lawyers. His abilities led senior partner, the late Edwin Weisl (an important figure in the motion picture industry and a long-time friend of Lyndon Johnson) to bring Vance with him to Washington in 1957 as a counsellor to Senator Lyndon Johnson's Special Committee on Space and Astronautics and the Senate Armed Services Committee. Participation in com-

mittee hearings gave Vance knowledge of the latest defense strategies, as well as acquaintances in the military-industrial complex. Friendship with Johnson, and Kennedy's election as president, eased Vance into the position of Counsel to the Defense Department in 1961. By 1962 he was Secretary of the Army. Within two years Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara appointed him Deputy Secretary of Defense.

During his years with the Defense Department, from 1961 to 1967, Vance fully met the requirements of his chief. Like other "McNamara men," he was an excellent technician who carefully and unhesitatingly carried out administration policy. After he had shown his skill by reorganizing the Army, Vance, as McNamara's deputy, played a substantial part in the management of the Kennedy-Johnson "counter-insurgency" program in semi-colonial areas overseas and at home. A leading "hawk," Vance helped select bombing sights in Vietnam during 1964-67 and became an expert in the conduct of tropical warfare.

Moreover, Vance served as special presidential envoy charged with managing social and political crises in the Canal Zone, the Dominican Republic, Cyprus and South Korea. Vance moved into the field of domestic counter-insurgency when he served as presidential emissary during the Detroit and Washington, D.C., riots in 1967 and 1968.

Finally, Vance was W. Averell Harriman's deputy at the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam and participated in an initiative to negotiate an "honorable" settlement during President Nixon's first months in office. Along with Harriman, former University of California Chancellor Clark Kerr and Harvard's Samuel Huntington, Vance organized the National Committee for a Political Settlement to push for a "responsible" alternative to the Nixon policy. On the premise that the U.S. had to retain its hold over the government of South Vietnam (GVN), the committee proposed the "leopard skin cease fire." The committee reasoned that a cease fire would give the NLF substantial local control in the rural South while ensuring the control of the growing urban population by the GVN. This trade-off was in the national interest, Vance argued. But Nixon ignored Vance and went his own way.

With a public reputation untarnished by the war, Vance could wait for another Democratic administration and a high policy-making position. Meanwhile, Vance acquired directorships in IBM, Pan-American Airways, the One William Street Fund (associated with Lehman Brothers), the New York Times and other corporations. As chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, which John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk before him had used as a springboard to the State Department, as a trustee of the Urban Institute (which he helped found in 1968), and as a member of the Trilateral Commission, he remained a "public spirited" member of his law firm and his social class.

Cyrus Vance has not been an "idea man." He has written no articles for *Foreign Affairs*, nor is there evidence of his playing a large intellectual role in the Trilateral Commission. On the other hand, no one else in the corporate elite has come up with basically new foreign policy ideas since the Marshall Plan and NATO. The Trilateral Commission represents sophisticated transnational corporate views harking back to Wilsonian "ultra-imperialism." Woodrow Wilson's objective during 1917-1920 was to minimize inter-necine capitalist rivalries by organizing the industrial nations into a League of Nations to ward off world war and social revolution. The Trilateral Commission can be seen as a transnational corporate league paralleling a United Nations of which world capitalism has lost control. As a "private" organization, the Trilateral Commission has the advantage of not being accountable to political processes within the various nations.

Vance brings the Carter administration an eminently "sound" and "responsible" business statesman capable of instilling some measure of confidence in the ruling class of the West. Vance will eschew Kissinger's style, avoid "Nixon shocks" and the inter-imperial acrimony of the early 1970s, and accelerate movement toward regular consultation with Western Europe and Japan. He will sustain and deepen Kissinger's recent accommodating stance towards developing countries in order to ease their receptivity to the international private investment system.

Vance indicated during his Senate confirmation hearings that administration foreign policy will be "increasingly intertwined with domestic economic policy." This is consistent with the Trilateral view that multinational corporate stability demands that each capitalist nation frame domestic policies to meet the system's need for reasonable mobility of trade and investment. Vance informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that the President, along with the Secretaries of State and Treasury, the Director of the OMB, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and top presidential assistants on domestic and foreign policy will form a special coordinating committee charged with mapping out policies to harmonize national goals with the requirements of world capitalism.

The new administration will employ sophisticated planning and consultative techniques, but whether Vance and his Trilateral colleagues in the cabinet can move substantially in the "ultra-imperial" direction remains in question. Long-term security of capitalist property may require transnational planning as advocated by the Trilateral Commission, but the global drift leftward and serious competitive rivalries engendered by the current world crisis could preclude stabilization.

William Burr is a graduate student in American history at Northern Illinois University.

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Robert B. Carson

Marginal work is on the rise as traditional jobs evaporate

The pundit who observed that the next worse thing to being out of work in the U.S. was to have a job was right. Bad as unemployment is, the day to day problem of most American workers is work itself. The trouble is not just that labor is increasingly tedious and dull or (as we used to say a few years ago when we worried over the quality rather than the quantity of jobs) "not fulfilling." Despite the hold of the work ethic in American life, work for the vast majority has rarely been "fulfilling." For most, it has always been brute and tiresome. In the past, though, there was often a sense of security and the hope of monetary or status advancement to blunt the day to day drudgery. In recent years, these aspects of work in the U.S. have been receding.

The work force has almost doubled since World War II and real GNP has grown by about 120 percent. But this expansion has been accompanied by the shift of a growing percentage of workers into marginal industries and marginal occupations that provide little sense of economic security and practically no hope of upward movement. Understanding this change in the structure of labor puts the magnitude of America's unemployment problem in clearer perspective.

►A statistical picture of labor changes.

Between the recession year of 1958 and the recession year of 1975, nonagricultural employment grew by 53 percent. But jobs in industries that comprise the industrial base to the economy—mining, construction, manufacturing, and transportation—increased by only 25 percent. This slow job growth reflected increased use of automation and "labor-saving" machinery as well as the internationalization of production in these industries. Meanwhile, among the new "growth" industries like retail trade, finance, service and government, employment increased from more than 100 percent in service to 63 percent in finance. By 1975, about two-thirds of

working Americans were employed in these labor-intensive sectors.

Even more striking than these industrial category shifts, however, were the changes in occupational status. In brief, the movement was toward less skilled types of labor. The employment of craftsmen and semi-skilled labor grew by 35 and 22 percent respectively. Meanwhile, largely unskilled or low-skilled sales, clerical and service jobs expanded by 65 percent. Quite contrary to the arguments of conventional economists, the so-called managerial or technocratic "revolution" had little effect on workers. Professional, technical and managerial shares of total employment advanced only slightly. The rooms at the top were all full.

►The growth of "marginalized" labor.

The significance of these shifts in the structure of employment becomes evident if we look at the relative wage differentials between the "new" and the "old" jobs. Overall, new jobs have lagged well behind direct industrial production employment—in average real wages, about 30-35 percent behind in 1958 and between 40 and 45 percent today.

And, incidentally, contrary to the arguments of some radicals, and most conservative economists, there is no evidence that the lower relative wage position of the "new" jobs or their recent slippage is the result of powerful labor unions in the "old" sectors trading off their own gains for losses to other workers. Although this point needs further clarification, it is apparent that the segmentation of employment into old and new job categories and the differential wages paid in these categories is the result of structural changes in American capitalism—not the alleged union rip-offs of ineffectively organized or unorganized workers. At any rate, practically all workers have been taking a beating recently. Real weekly earnings, which increased about 40 percent

between 1947 and 1966, now average about the same as a decade ago.

►What do the trends mean?

What does this data mean? What specifically are the employment trends?

First, during the past 20 years there has been very little job growth in the old industrial occupations. Second, most recent job growth has been in the largely unskilled and lower skilled, labor intensive service—government—sales sectors. Third, these new jobs have been relatively poorer paid and, whether with or without the benefits of unions, are the least secure. Thus, we can conclude that while more and more Americans are working, more workers are being pressed toward the margins of employment. For many, the transition from employment to unemployment, whatever the personal psychological jolt, is scarcely noticeable from the perspective of the economy as a whole. The "new jobs" then, contrary to conventional economists' claims, were never a sign of a vital economy but merely another measure (along with chronic unemployment) of the growing labor surplus problem of American corporate capitalism.

What is the composition of this new marginal labor? The answer should bring no surprises. It is made up of pretty much the same types of people as those we earlier identified as the chronically unemployed—women, minorities and the young. The conventional economist at this point will say these are special cases, that they are marginal workers only because of certain correctable deficiencies—lack of skills, their age, social or sexual prejudices, or even the excessive union power that holds down non-union wages and jobs. Thus, economic and hiring policies aimed at correcting the "causes" for their unemployment should both create new jobs and improve present ones. However, economists' fantasies aside, there is simply no evidence to prove this contention.

It is evident in looking at the performance of the American economy in the past quarter century that corporate capitalism is able to produce greater and greater levels of output with decreasing need for human labor. The actual labor of more and more people becomes irrelevant. Among the employed—especially those in labor intensive jobs—the vulnerability to periodic unemployment, job insecurity, relatively lower wages, and degrading work can only be expected to heighten in a production-for-profit society. Within the limits of the system of corporate capitalism, there are no "economic" answers to the problem. Growing unemployment and the increased marginalization of the labor force can only be approached as political problems.

►Carter's options are empty.

Getting back to the question we posed at the outset of this series—What can Jimmy Carter do about the employment problem of modern corporate capitalism?

Plainly there are no effective longrun options within the constructs of the system. Keynesian fiscal policy does not work. The political solution of public jobs is simply too expensive to have deep and lasting effects and probably only shifts unemployment around. Meanwhile, the steady growth of unemployment and marginalized work, especially among blacks, women and the young, but ultimately, among all workers, will continue. What can Jimmy Carter really do to try to change this? Aside from prayer I can't think of a thing. What people might do if they rejected the rhetoric and politics of corporate capitalism is quite another matter.

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, N.Y., and is the author of *Main Line to Oblivion: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

DIALOG

Editor:

I was very disappointed to read Carl Marzani's review of H. Smith's *The Russians* (*In These Times*, Jan. 5) because I had high hopes for *In These Times* as an independent socialist newspaper and now fear for its independence.

Mr. Marzani says that the Soviet economy's problems "are neither as crippling nor as refractory as those faced by our American economy." To compare any country's economy with the U.S.'s is to damn with faint praise, but that is not my main point. Suppose it can be demonstrated that the Russian economy (like that of Saudi Arabia and South Africa) is in relatively good shape. At whose expense and for whose benefit? A Marxist socialist does not talk only about growth of production. (Steel production, having been relatively stagnant after the Kaiser and the Ebert-Scheidemann regimes, soared under Hitler.) A Marxist also talks about who controls production and what is the distribution of wealth (viz. who benefits from production). Does anyone need ask?

Just a few words about both points. In 1932, at the 9th Trade Union Congress, 84.9 percent of the delegates were workers; at the 10th T.U.C. in 1949, 23.5 percent of the delegates were workers. In no sense do the Russian workers

control their own "unions," no less their state.

Russian workers cannot strike and are often subject to compulsory assignment to jobs. As for distribution of wealth, "available data point clearly toward an even broader dispersion in the USSR than in the West." (N. Spulber, *Soviet Economy*, New York, 1962, p. 42.) That of a physicist was, in Russia, 1:25; in the U.S., 1:5; and in Great Britain, 1:7. (K. Mendelssohn, "Russia Pays Her Physicists Well," *The Observer*, Aug. 18, 1957.) etc.

No wonder that when the West German Krupp empire and the Hoechst Chemical Corporation want to expand and build plants, they go to the Russian satellite East Germany, where labor is cheap and independent unions non-existent.

Mr. Marzani goes on to quote Stalin favorably about Russia's overcoming backwardness without mentioning the millions and millions of people uprooted, tortured, and murdered to achieve this feat. And for what purpose? Does any independent radical hope that, since the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy's power in about 1927, Russia is moving toward a more equitable distribution of wealth or toward more workers' control of production? Hardly. The reverse of both is surely true.

There are two reasons why *In These Times* should strive for absolute objectivity with regard to U.S., Russia, and China, and all their satellites: first, American intellectuals and workers won't believe you otherwise; and second, more

importantly, it is your duty as a socialist newspaper to tell the truth.

—Marvin Mandell
W. Rosbury, Mass.

Carl Marzani replies:

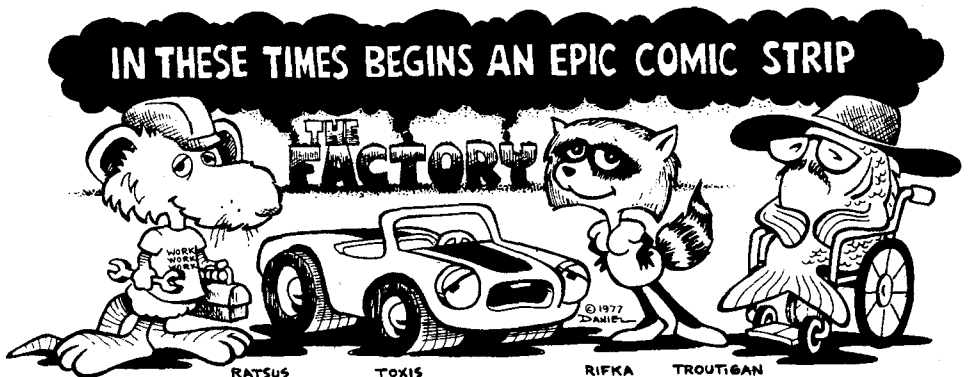
1. The views expressed are my own and not those of *In These Times*. The fact that they publish me is proof of their independence.

2. Nearly all the criticisms you make are valid and I would agree with them in whole or in part.

3. Smith did not deal at all with whether or not the USSR is a socialist state, if not, why not, if yes, what kind of socialism. Since he didn't raise the issue, I didn't either. I simply reported that he was very good on telling us about dissenters, avant gard art, privileges for ruling groups, etc., and not so good on agriculture and industry.

4. In this context I stand by the statement you find objectionable, namely that Soviet economic problems are neither "as crippling nor as refractory as those faced by our American economy," although I said that their problems are indeed serious. I would add now that in part they are because of the problems to which you point. Nevertheless, what I said does not imply approval or disapproval of the way the Soviets do things, or the way Stalin did.

5. Finally, my own political position: I consider myself an independent Marxist and socialist who believes that each nation must find its own way to socialism, shaped by its own history and traditions. In general, I find myself closer to the ideas of the Italian Communists than to the ideas of Soviet Communism or British social democracy.



THERE'S A PLACE I ALWAYS GO, A PLACE THAT OTHERS MAY NOT KNOW THAT KEEPS ME SANE AND HAVING FUN, SPARES MY BROILING IN THE SUN, ESTABLISHES ROUTINES AND GOALS, FAVORING HE THAT GOLFS OR BOWLS, SPONSORS EVERY WEEK A DANCE TO GET IN SOMEONE ELSE'S PANTS, HELPS ME PAY FOR FOOD AND DRINK AND DAILY VISITS TO MY SHRINK.



James Aronson

Murdoch gobbles Felker. From the belly he cries "I shall return"

The staffs of publications involved in the recent newspaper/magazine cold war in New York seem strangely dismayed that publishers behave like capitalists in a capitalist world. This reaction must have saddened Rupert Murdoch who, according to the rules of the free enterprise game, behaved impeccably in acquiring the *New York Post*, *New York* magazine, the *Village Voice*, and *New West* in Los Angeles. Their dismay at this normal behavior detracts nothing from the decent instincts of the men and women who walked off the job in support of displaced publisher Clay Felker (only to watch him scurry back in as a virtual scab in order to get out an issue of *New York*); but it does suggest that a course in Marxism would be instructive. It could be sweetened by calling it Imperial Journalism A.

The chain of events began in 1970 when Ed Fancher and Dan Wolf, publishers of the *Voice*, having grown wealthy on the fat advertising and lean plantation wages paid to their editorial slaves, sold a large hunk of stock to Carter Burden (Vanderbilt money) and his friend Bartle Bull. Burden and Bull (it's impossible to invent names more appropriate to the situation) in turn hitched their portfolio to Felker's swinging *New York* in 1974, and the whole cast took off in search of the hot-test pastrami in town.

There was consternation at the *Voice*

at the Felker take-over, and photos of Felker assuring the staff, from the top of a desk, of his devotion to the indistinct principles of the *Voice*. The incipient revolt was quelled by shelling out, in a shrinking job market, relatively good wages. The *Voice* settled into a prophetic semi-Murdochian sensationalism ("I Was the Dyke at My High School Reunion") with a spruced-up format.

►The invasion of the body snatcher.

Enter the Man from Down Under. Murdoch was being courted by Felker for some cash to help ease the losses incurred by the publication of *New West*. In the course of things, Felker introduced the Australian to Dorothy Schiff, known to be looking for a purchaser for the *Post*. It was the beginning and the end of the affair. Rupert waltzed Dolly right out of the publisher's chair for \$31 million. Not even Matilda ever got such a quick whirl.

The doomsayers gathered in the garment district with dire predictions. But it is difficult to say that Rupert will put out a worse paper than Dolly. When her fling with sex and social democracy petered out at the newsstands, she dug into the afternoon market with a monopoly of syndicated senility. It would be a considerable accomplishment to bottom William F. Buckley's snottiness and Max Lerner's pecksniffery.

Having done with Dolly, Murdoch then moved in on Felker at *New York* and the *Voice*. There were acrimonious all-night sessions in the board rooms, flights to the slopes of Aspen (Burden & Bull again) and more desk-top oratory by Felker. All to no avail. Into the sunset went Felker, weighted down with bags of Commonwealth bullion, alternating cries of "Rape!" with "I shall return."

The singles bars are still agog with excitement over the rapid-fire events. Some staff members of *New York* have departed, muttering about alien ownership of American property. A worry indeed, but perhaps parochial in light of the increasing American stranglehold on global communications (about which more in a future commentary).

Of immediate concern should be the galloping pace of monopoly ownership of the American media by an ever-narrowing collection of native conglomerates. The Murdoch venture pales in comparison. For example, in 1974 the Knight newspapers purchased the Ridder chain for \$99 million, making a combine of 35 newspapers. Last November, S.I. Newhouse acquired eight Michigan dailies (and the Sunday supplement *Parade*) for \$305 million. For Newhouse that totals 30 daily newspapers, five magazines, six television stations, four radio stations and 20 cable television systems. He out-

bid the Times-Mirror Corporation of Los Angeles, just as Murdoch outbid Katherine Graham of the *Washington Post* for the Felker trio.

Next time you hear a mournful tale of the shrinking American newspaper industry, shed not even one crocodile tear. Profits in the industry in the first half of 1976 rode toward record highs—up 6 to 79 percent for 13 of 14 publicly-held companies (as reported by Colin, Hochstin Co.) and on average double the profit margin for American corporations generally. Six-month advertising totals were \$2.63 billion.

The automated American newspaper industry, having beaten or broken almost every union in the field, has finally entered the age of automated profits. In this situation it feels no compunction to maintain even a vestige of its barely existent adversarial role. The most constructive thing you can do to counter its influence is to get four friends a week to subscribe to *In These Times*.

Note: In the last commentary I gave Jules Witcover back to the Los Angeles Times. He is now on the staff of the Washington Post.

James Aronson is professor of communications, Hunter College, New York; veteran journalist; and a founder and long time editor of the *National Guardian*.



Alan Wolfe

The CIA comes back fighting, has Carter on the defensive

Theodore Sorensen will not head the Central Intelligence Agency in part because he let the public in on some secrets and in part because he was at one time a pacifist. Griffin Bell will head the Department of Justice, even though he has been both a racist and a mediocre judge. Therein lies a tale about standards of political morality in post-Watergate America. But there is another tale to be told first. It is a tale of the incredible resurgence of the CIA. From a point at which it looked as if the Agency might actually be broken up, the CIA has reestablished its hegemony decisively, and the offing of Sorensen is only one step in the revitalization of an agency that was recently on the rocks.

The drama of the Sorensen withdrawal was not feigned. We do not know now—and may never know—what dirty line the CIA handed to Sorensen in order to get him to back out, but it must have been stunning. In any case, their blackmail is beside the point. The important question is why the CIA resisted Sorensen, and the reason must lie in a sharp but secret battle somewhere within the nether regions of state power.

►Split on the CIA.

Ever since the failure of the Bay of Pigs project there has been a split in the American ruling class about how to handle espionage. One side is represented by Wall Street capital and its intellectual allies in academia. It argues that there is a danger that the CIA will become too irresponsible if its affairs are too secret. To carry out a foreign policy in the long-run interests of businessmen as a class, the machinery of state must be rationalized

and brought under the control of "responsible" leaders—i.e., the President. Vigilantism and flagrant episodes are not effective weapons of foreign policy, and besides, they only make politicians seem more illegitimate when the details find their way to the public. Beginning with Kennedy's appointment of his brother and Maxwell Taylor to examine the CIA and continuing down to Carter's appointment of Sorensen—who was Kennedy's greatest flatterer and who was recommended by Kennedy in-house intellectual Richard Neustadt—this perspective has sought to bring the agency under the control of the President, especially when the President is a Democrat.

But the CIA itself has a different view. Its self-conception is that intelligence can only be effective if spies, like businessmen of another era, are given a free hand to operate. By now firmly entrenched in the bureaucracy, CIA types have built alliances with conservatives in the Republican party and with defense industries. They have persistently refused to be "reformed" and have gone about their business protecting specific American capitalists in specific situations, irrespective of what effect these actions may have on long-range foreign policy interest. (These everyday services, which the CIA provides to specific corporations, the bulk of its activity, are illustrated in Philip Agee's *Inside the Company*). CIA operatives have indeed become, as one Kennedy aide once charged, a state-within-the-state, responsible to no one but themselves.

►Uneasy harmony.

For most of the postwar period these two

perspectives on the CIA coexisted in an uneasy harmony. So long as the covert operations did not blatantly contradict democratic rhetoric, liberal theoreticians and policy makers could live with them. Conversely, so long as the liberal reformers did not make a major effort to transform the agency, the spooks could live with a bit of public criticism. But the harmony, the past 10 years, has become discordant, and both the Sorensen nomination and its rejection must be understood as part of the unhinging of this tenuous coalition.

The first part to break occurred when the covert operations actually began to pose a serious problem of legitimacy. Watergate revealed that the CIA had become inextricably linked to domestic policies. Revelations by the *New York Times* began to document how extensive CIA intervention into domestic affairs had become. Vietnam indicated that the CIA was not always right, and even when it was, that policy makers could ignore its estimates. Former agents suddenly began to write books about the agency's practices. A watchdog organization was set up in Washington to monitor its affairs. Foreign organizations began to publicize the identity of local agents, with predictable consequences. The position of director had become a revolving door, indicating clearly that the agency had become politicized. In short, the cold war consensus that protected the CIA from any public examination had collapsed under the burden of its own past.

►The Agency strikes back.

At the same time—and on this point we

can only guess—public scrutiny began to interfere with Agency operations. At some point a decision must have been made to fight back. The counterattack came during the Church Committee investigation. Instead of monitoring the CIA, the Church Committee began to monitor the criticism of it. Statements were issued through Church's office that intelligence was basic to American security, and that only flagrant abuses would be publicized. Somehow the CIA had gotten to Church. Maybe they reminded him that an East German book called *Who's Who in the CIA* listed Church as a former spy. Maybe they convinced Northwest businessmen to curb Church, as has been widely rumored in Washington. In any case, the expected onslaught on the CIA never took place.

Carter therefore inherits an Agency outside his control. His goal will be to "manage" the CIA by bringing it as much as possible within his supervision. The appointment of a liberal like Sorensen was instrumental to this end. This the CIA understood as well as Carter and it went to work. Most likely, however, Sorensen's withdrawal does not end the struggle. Carter will likely make one more attempt to nominate a "reformer" to head the Agency and the dance will start again. And even if Carter comes up with a cleaner record on the part of his next nominee, the CIA will not stop in its attacks. We are clearly in for a major struggle over the future of the CIA. How predictable that the whole affair will take place out of our sight.

Alan Wolfe lives in Berkeley, Calif., and is the author of *The Seamy Side of Democracy* (McKay).

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

A good enough ocean with plenty of fish

Letters from readers have raised two important questions about our advocacy of electoral politics. First, whether electoral politics is appropriate activity at all for socialists; and second, even if it is, whether they should make electoral activity a top priority now when, according to them, the working class is not ready to receive favorably socialist views but must first be prepared by participation in other struggles.

The major popular movements in the United States today do not view electoral politics and other activity as mutually exclusive, but understand that both are integral to their over-all political strategy. It is largely avowed socialist or revolutionary organizations in the U.S. that insist upon an either/or dichotomy. Elsewhere throughout the capitalist world, socialist and marxist parties with any significant following engage in electoral politics wherever and whenever possible.

Aversion to electoral politics among American leftists has less to do with marxism or socialist theory than with their own isolation from a popular base and with the powerful syndicalist tradition rooted in typically American interest-group and business-unionist politics. It is a form of acquiescence in the depoliticization of the working class and in the much-noted "bourgeois political hegemony."

Socialist politics requires integrating interest-group and single-issue concerns into a broader class political perspective. It means bringing working people together from diverse points of struggle and translating their immediate goals into a common program that asserts working class needs as those of society as a whole.

Socialists have long been concerned with and often perplexed by the problem of bringing single-issue movements into broader coalitions. Electoral political activity is the best way to organize beyond immediate group interest and into broader class-based politics. In our view, electoral work means year-round activity, sustained organization around programs, directed beyond protest to implementing policies that people want and to the question of state power.

Those who think of this as the relatively passive action of candidates presenting a slate to people, and people casting a ballot once in a while, are as far from our concept of electoral politics as the "union-bureaucrat" or top-down controlled movements are from other leftists' view of "direct action."

►Some misunderstandings.

With these as some of our premises, we would like to clarify some misunderstandings of previous editorials.

•We do not pose electoral politics against political activity at work places, in communities, or around particular issues, interests, or grievances. Indeed, serious popular movements (black, Latino, Chicano, union, feminist, ecology, consumer, welfare rights, etc.) are oriented toward legislative and governmental programs and hence to the electoral arena. These movements are ahead of many socialists in understanding that serious politics must center on public policy and programs aimed at gaining control of state action and transforming society.

•We do not say that the legislative branches of government (local, state, and fed-

Present historical circumstances mark a new phase in American capitalist society and are strongly favorable to the rise of popular socialism.

eral) are now the people's branch. We say that socialists should organize to make them so. We believe that in engaging in electoral activity socialists should now focus on the legislative branches because they are the most accessible to popular organizing, to election victories and to establishing a socialist and anti-corporate presence in the representative bodies that can strengthen the movements against corporate power, whose citadel in the state resides in the executive branches.

•We do not see electoral politics as a mere tactic precisely because of its serious implications.

A movement in the United States that does not submit itself publicly to the judgment of the people can never hope to gain their confidence and loyalty. The progressive forces among the American people, and especially the working class, have historically rejected what appear to them to be secret or semi-secret societies, that is, organizations that do not conduct themselves publicly and subject their leaders and ideas to the people's judgment.

►Part of American life.

Consistent participation by socialists in electoral politics will help to establish socialism as part of American public life, rather than as a subterranean or esoteric force. And the experience of propagating socialism in the "American language" and fashioning their views into practical and desirable programs will enable socialists to move beyond their present isolation.

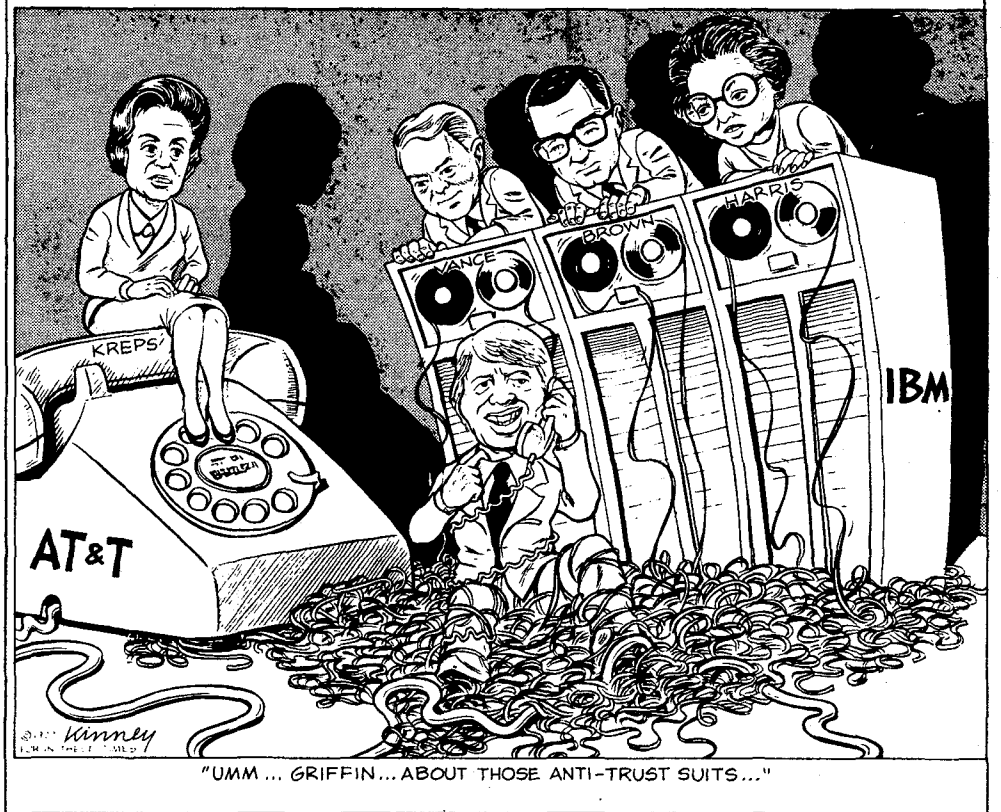
Electoral participation will also begin to habituate socialists to the democratic and popular forms of political advocacy and public intercourse that the American people demand from their political leaders. It will help guarantee that democratic values and behavior become integral to the socialist movement.

►A new phase.

Present historical circumstances, we believe, mark a new phase in American capitalist society, and are strongly favorable to the rise of popular socialism. They call for a change in socialists' understanding of the "objective conditions" and of appropriate organizational forms of struggle.

Disaffection with the corporate system is intense and growing, a culmination of the past 15 years of struggle. People are looking for alternatives that challenge corporate power not only with protests but with actionable programs looking toward different ways of organizing the economy and for political leadership responsive to the people rather than to corporate power.

Millions of Americans no longer unquestioningly grant approval to adven-



tures abroad in the name of a "crusade against communism," nor believe that Corporate America is God's gift to them or to the world.

The labor movement has made an historic departure from imperialist expansion as the way of securing jobs and living standards. Not only the labor-left but also the Meany-type leaders are opting for public planning for full employment, expansion of the public sector, opposition to corporate priorities and profits, democratic control of the investment system and redistribution of wealth, as the alternative to imperialism in protecting their constituents' everyday interests.

The black, ecology, consumer-protection, feminist, welfare-rights, and other movements all to a greater or lesser degree recognize that their own goals can not be realized short of the basic restructuring of the political-economy in opposition to corporate "growth."

All these groups are working in the electoral arena. Only professedly revolutionary socialists are holding out as if in some apocalyptic expectation.

►We don't start here.

It should be clear from all this that we do not start with the premise, stated by Roberta Lynch (*In These Times*, Jan. 19) that the American "working class ... has lost its history, its collective identity, and often the will to struggle." We do not take as a fact "that the working class in the U.S. still does not sense or act on its power as a class." That premise does accord with certain "consensus" views of American history that deny the reality of class conflict in this society, but it is not in accord with the empirical record nor is it a valid starting point for socialists.

It is true that the forms and language of American working people's struggles do not look and sound like those of other countries and times. But the particular task of socialists is to translate the movements as they do appear into their relevance to socialism and creatively to adapt their understanding of socialism to the actual developments within their own working class and in their own political culture.

The view that "objective conditions" are not "ripe," that the American working people are not "ready" for the rise of popular socialism leads directly to sectarian elitism. It is sectarian because it does not comprehend American conditions in American historical terms, and because it breeds and justifies socialists' isolation from the people. It is elitist because in effect it imagines socialists as special carriers of the Truth standing "above" and certainly apart from a benighted people.

It pictures a virtually cowardly "people" who are afraid of a word, "socialism," as a "taboo," whereas it is social-

ists with such views themselves who are afraid of the word and who make it a "taboo." They have not applied their intelligence to propagating socialism and organizing around it in popular ways and in American terms. They have not understood that socialism is not a word but an historical experience. They are afraid of being rejected by the people—and rightly so. But they project the blame for their rejection on "objective conditions," the working class, everyone but themselves.

►If we can't start now...

How much "riper" must "objective conditions" become? We have an ongoing depression with huge unemployment, world capitalism in deep crisis; a decaying major party system; corruption and scandal in low and high places reaching to the forced resignations of the vice-president and president complete with impeachment proceedings; exposures of the CIA and FBI; urban rot, collapsing social services, rising crime, unworkable schools, inadequate medical care; not to mention the Vietnam war and the profound impact of the struggles against it.

We have on the "subjective" side, massive "alienation" from the major parties and the business system, and movements by the score addressing themselves to all of these circumstances. What more are we socialists waiting for?

When not blaming "objective conditions" for their isolation, socialists blame capitalist repression. They cite "McCarthyism" of the 1940s and 1950s. That was 20 to 30 years ago. How long shall we trade on that? Bad as it was, it was child's play compared with that in other countries, then and now (think of Spain, Germany, Portugal, Brazil), yet the communist and socialist parties there learned how to maintain their class base and deal with the much more murderous repression. Do we expect our capitalist class not to act as a ruling class and not to seek to suppress socialists and propagandize in favor of capitalism?

We have to understand and propagate American socialism as highly suited to our own democratic traditions of liberty and equality, of social and cultural pluralism, of federalism, in the course of which we will be able to join the growing numbers of Americans who are coming to see that corporate capitalism is incompatible with those traditions.

The way to learn to swim is to get in the water. American electoral politics, broadly understood, is a good enough ocean with plenty of fish, some of them sharks, to put us into the swim of popular socialism. The discovery of America is not only a thing of the past. It also lies before us.